

Northumbria Research Link

Citation: Boudewijn, Inge Adriana Maria (2019) Constructing the mine: a critical exploration of women's meaning-making regarding the Yanacocha mine, Peru. Doctoral thesis, Northumbria University.

This version was downloaded from Northumbria Research Link:
<http://nrl.northumbria.ac.uk/id/eprint/42052/>

Northumbria University has developed Northumbria Research Link (NRL) to enable users to access the University's research output. Copyright © and moral rights for items on NRL are retained by the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. Single copies of full items can be reproduced, displayed or performed, and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided the authors, title and full bibliographic details are given, as well as a hyperlink and/or URL to the original metadata page. The content must not be changed in any way. Full items must not be sold commercially in any format or medium without formal permission of the copyright holder. The full policy is available online: <http://nrl.northumbria.ac.uk/policies.html>



Northumbria
University
NEWCASTLE



UniversityLibrary

CONSTRUCTING THE MINE: A
CRITICAL EXPLORATION OF WOMEN'S
MEANING-MAKING REGARDING THE
YANACOCCHA MINE, PERU

I A M BOUDEWIJN

PhD

2019

CONSTRUCTING THE MINE: A
CRITICAL EXPLORATION OF WOMEN'S
MEANING-MAKING REGARDING THE
YANACOCCHA MINE, PERU

INGE ADRIANA MARIA BOUDEWIJN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the University of
Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the Faculty of
Arts, Design and Social Sciences

August 2019

Abstract

The Yanacocha goldmine has operated in the Cajamarca region, Peru, since 1992. While initially not widely resisted by residents, discontent steadily grew, due to pollution and lack of promised economic development for the region. As conflicts have unfolded in Cajamarca, so has academic interest in the region, yet the literature often leaves the mine an unexamined presence in the background. Similarly, while literature increasingly recognises the need for an enhanced understanding of gendered impacts of mining, it has not yet considered how women themselves give meaning to the mine and its consequences in localised ways. This thesis argues for the need to engage critically with women's sociocultural interpretations and conceptualisations of the entity of the mine to grasp the gendered dimensions of extractivism in a given place.

Qualitative data was collected in Cajamarca over seven months, including participant observation with women's and environmental organisations, and oral history interviews with twenty women. Using an innovative analytical framework combining theories of Andean modernity, development alternatives and the construction of a continuity of belonging and relationships in place and landscape, this thesis analyses how women's perceptions of the mine are shaped not only in the more thoroughly documented times of struggle and socio-environmental conflict, but in everyday life in its aftermath. By focusing on Cajamarcan women's notions of history, belonging, place, landscape, changing relationships and imagined futures, this thesis highlights how they ascribe particular disruptive powers, intents and influences to the mine, mining companies and people associated with them. It concludes they are affected beyond the direct, tangible impacts of mining, through the fluid sociocultural meanings they assign to it. This thesis develops a critical understanding of localised gendered perceptions and ramifications of large-scale mining projects, encouraging further research into women's struggles in extractivist contexts, in order to envisage locally appropriate ways of bolstering their resilience.

Resumen

Desde 1992, la mina de oro de Yanacocha está operando en la región de Cajamarca, Perú. Aunque inicialmente el pueblo de Cajamarca no la rechazó, el descontento fue aumentando constantemente por el incremento de la contaminación y la falta de desarrollo económico prometido para la región. Paralelamente al desarrollo de conflictos socio-ambientales en Cajamarca, el interés académico por la región fue en aumento. Sin embargo, en la literatura académica, la mina sigue como una mera presencia en el trasfondo, sin ser examinada. Similarmente, aunque la literatura reconoce cada vez más la necesidad de comprender las dimensiones del impacto de la minería con relación a género, aún no se ha considerado el significado de sus consecuencias que le dan las mujeres. Esta tesis argumenta la necesidad de analizar críticamente las interpretaciones socio-culturales que dan las mujeres a la mina, para así entender las dimensiones del extractivismo con relación a género en un lugar específico.

Datos cualitativos fueron recolectados durante siete meses de trabajo de campo en Cajamarca; incluyendo “*participant observation*” con organizaciones de mujeres y medioambientales; y entrevistas de “*oral history*” con veinte mujeres. Utilizando un marco analítico innovador que combina teorías de la modernidad andina, alternativas de desarrollo y la construcción de una continuidad de un sentido de pertenencia y las relaciones en el lugar y el paisaje, esta tesis muestra cómo las percepciones de las mujeres sobre la mina se forman, no solamente en tiempos de batalla y conflictos socioambientales, sino también después, durante las secuelas. Centrándose en como las Cajamarquinas entienden la historia, la pertenencia, el lugar, el paisaje, los cambios en las relaciones, y el futuro imaginado, esta tesis examina cómo atribuyen poderes, intenciones e influencias particulares y disruptivos a la mina, a las empresas mineras y a todas personas asociadas con ellas. Concluye que, por lo tanto, se ven afectadas más allá de los impactos directos y tangibles de la minería pero adicionalmente a través de los significados socioculturales cambiantes que le asignan. Esta tesis desarrolla una comprensión crítica de las percepciones y ramificaciones en las mujeres con respecto a los proyectos mineros a gran escala; incentivando futuras investigaciones sobre la lucha de las mujeres en contextos de extractivismo, con el objeto de encontrar las vías más eficaces para reforzar su capacidad de adaptación.

Abstract

De Yanacocha goudmijn opereert sinds 1992 in de regio Cajamarca in Noord-Peru. Hoewel de lokale bevolking zich hier aanvankelijk niet tegen verzettede, groeide hun ontevredenheid door de jaren heen gestaag. Dit was onder andere het resultaat van toegenomen vervuiling en het uitblijven van de beloofde regionale economische ontwikkeling. Zowel de sociale-milieu conflicten zelf als de gerelateerde academische interesse groeiden door de jaren heen gestaag. Echter, in de resulterende literatuur blijft de mijn vaak nog een voor lief genomen, onbestemde aanwezigheid. Voorts onderschrijft de academische literatuur over de gevolgen van het extractivisme in toenemende mate het belang van onderzoek naar de *gender*-dimensie van de gevolgen die de mijn voor de lokale bevolking teweegbrengt. Er is echter nog weinig onderzoek gedaan naar hoe vrouwen zélf betekenis geven aan de aanwezigheid van de mijn en zijn lokale gevolgen. Daarom pleit dit proefschrift voor het belang van kritisch onderzoek naar hoe vrouwen de mijn op socioculturele wijze interpreteren, met het doel ons begrip van de *gender*-dimensies van extractivisme te verruimen, in een plaatsgebonden context.

Dit werk is gebaseerd op analyse van kwalitatieve data, verzameld tijdens zeven maanden veldwerk in Cajamarca, doormiddel van '*participant observation*' bij vrouwen- en milieuorganisaties, en '*oral history*' interviews met twintig vrouwen. Middels een innovatief analytisch *framework*, dat theorieën over moderniteit in de Andes, ontwikkelingsalternatieven, en noties van 'thuishoren' met fundamentele relaties in plaats, tijd en landschap combineert, belicht dit werk hoe de vrouwen hun perceptie van de mijn niet slechts vormen tijdens de goed gedocumenteerde periode van intens activisme, maar ook hoe dit proces zich voortzet in het dagelijks leven naderhand. Door te focusen op de ideeën die vrouwen uit Cajamarca delen over hun geschiedenis; thuishoren, plaats, landschap, veranderende relaties en mogelijke toekomst, belicht dit werk hoe zij verstorende krachten, intenties en invloeden toeschrijven aan de mijn, mijnbouwbedrijven, en de mensen die met hen geassocieerd zijn. Ik concludeer dat de vrouwen daardoor niet enkel lijden onder tastbare gevolgen van mijnbouw zoals vervuiling, maar ook onder de sociaal-culturele betekenissen die ze hieraan toeschrijven. Dit proefschrift werpt een kritische blik op lokale percepties en gevolgen van grootschalige mijnbouw, en moedigt verder onderzoek aan naar de strijd die vrouwen voeren in extractivistische contexten, met het doel om effectieve, lokaal passende manieren te vinden om hun veerkrachtigheid te versterken.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Abstract | 1 |
| Resumen | 2 |
| Abstract | 3 |
| Acknowledgements..... | 8 |
| Declaration | 9 |
| 1. Introduction..... | 10 |
| 1.1 The mining boom and rise of socio-environmental movements | 10 |
| 1.2 Research questions..... | 14 |
| 1.3 Thesis outline | 14 |
| 2. Setting the stage..... | 17 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 17 |
| 2.2 Constructions of race and femininity..... | 18 |
| 2.2.1 Peruvian geographies | 18 |
| 2.2.2 Gender roles in Andean communities | 20 |
| 2.3 Locating Cajamarca within contemporary Peruvian history..... | 22 |
| 2.3.1 A brief overview of pre-1980 Cajamarca | 22 |
| 2.3.2 The <i>Rondas Campesinas</i> | 23 |
| 2.3.3 <i>Sendero Luminoso</i> | 25 |
| 2.3.4 Political situation and the Fujimori years | 27 |
| 2.3.5 Yanacocha and Conga, the short history of large-scale mining in Cajamarca | 28 |
| 2.4 The rationale and impacts of large-scale mining | 33 |
| 2.4.1 The Resource curse..... | 33 |
| 2.4.2 Large-scale mining..... | 34 |
| 2.5 Women and mining | 39 |
| 2.5.1 Women's work and traditional roles | 40 |
| 2.5.2 Gender inequalities in the economic benefits from mining..... | 42 |
| 2.5.3 Health and Well-being..... | 44 |
| 2.6 Conclusion | 45 |
| 3. Key theories and themes for situating the mine in place | 47 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 47 |
| 3.2 Modernisation and alternatives..... | 47 |
| 3.2.1 Modernisation | 47 |
| 3.2.2 Through Development or separate from Development: a short overview | 49 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3.3 Negotiating landscape and place..... | 52 |
| 3.3.1 Exploring and relating key concepts..... | 52 |
| 3.3.2 Relationships in the landscape | 57 |
| 3.4 Social movements in Latin America..... | 65 |
| 3.4.1 (New) Social movements in Latin America..... | 65 |
| 3.4.2 Mobilising place and history..... | 66 |
| 3.4.3 Women's movements | 69 |
| 3.5 Going forward..... | 72 |
| 4. Methodology | 74 |
| 4.1 Introduction | 74 |
| 4.2 Theories of conducting feminist research | 74 |
| 4.3 Participant observation | 77 |
| 4.3.1 Practicalities..... | 77 |
| 4.3.2 Ethical considerations of doing participant observation | 81 |
| 4.3.3 Gaining trust by waiting..... | 85 |
| 4.3.4 Personal reflections: mixed emotions and fluctuating positionalities..... | 86 |
| 4.4 Conducting Interviews | 88 |
| 4.4.1 Interview outlines | 91 |
| 4.4.2 Visually redefining the 'usual story' | 92 |
| 4.5 Writing up | 95 |
| 4.5.1 Issues of translation | 98 |
| 4.6 Concluding thought | 100 |
| 5. Women's perceptions of the mine as an interruption of place-attachment, belonging and continuity | 101 |
| 5.1 Introduction | 101 |
| 5.2 On being Cajamarcan | 102 |
| 5.3 Urban narratives of the familiar becoming strange..... | 107 |
| 5.3.1 Importing outside values | 108 |
| 5.4 Insiders becoming outsiders..... | 118 |
| 5.4.1 Becoming strangers | 118 |
| 5.4.2 Losing trust | 120 |
| 5.5 Becoming insiders: rethinking the countryside..... | 123 |
| 5.5.1 Changes in rural areas..... | 126 |
| 5.6 Conclusion | 130 |
| 6. Women's perceptions of the mine as an interruption of landscape and natural relationships | 132 |
| 6.1 Introduction | 132 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 6.2 The gendered nature of nature | 134 |
| 6.3 The mine and changes to natural landscapes..... | 135 |
| 6.3.1 Unnatural colours and mountains that move | 136 |
| 6.3.2 Belonging through water | 143 |
| 6.3.3 Expanding belonging in natural landscape..... | 159 |
| 6.4 The mine and changes to urban landscapes | 161 |
| 6.5 Conclusion..... | 170 |
| 7. Women's imagined future scenarios in the presence and absence of mining and 'development' | 172 |
| 7.1 Introduction | 172 |
| 7.2 Contrasting imagined futures with the Conga mine..... | 173 |
| 7.2.1 Worst case scenario | 173 |
| 7.2.2 Best case scenario: exploring the perspective of an inside-outsider..... | 175 |
| 7.3 The 'after': thinking about development..... | 182 |
| 7.3.1 Development with mining: if the mine fits | 182 |
| 7.3.2 Development alternatives to mining | 186 |
| 7.4 Alternatives to development | 190 |
| 7.4.1 Challenging the notion of development | 190 |
| 7.4.2 (Trying to) think outside the box..... | 194 |
| 7.4.3 Ancestry and history | 197 |
| 7.5 Conclusion..... | 204 |
| 8. Conclusions | 205 |
| 8.1 Introduction | 205 |
| 8.2 A disruption in time and place | 206 |
| 8.3 A disruption in landscape and natural connections | 208 |
| 8.4 A disruption of continuity and future..... | 209 |
| 8.5 Areas of further research | 210 |
| 8.6 Concluding thoughts..... | 211 |
| Appendices..... | 213 |
| Appendix I: Interview schedule..... | 213 |
| Spanish | 213 |
| English..... | 216 |
| Appendix II: List of interviews | 219 |
| Interviewees living in Cajamarca city | 219 |
| Interviewees living in Bambamarca town | 219 |
| Interviewees living in Celendín town | 220 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Appendix IV: Unused maps | 221 |
| Appendix III: Original Spanish Quotes | 228 |
| Chapter 5..... | 228 |
| Chapter 6..... | 238 |
| Chapter 7..... | 248 |
| Appendix V: Glossary and Acronyms | 258 |
| Bibliography | 259 |

List of Figures and Maps

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: Location of Cajamarca region within Peru..... | 17 |
| Figure 2: The 13 provinces of Cajamarca region..... | 17 |
| Figure 3: Geopolitical Division of Peru..... | 19 |
| Map 1..... | 137 |
| Map 2..... | 139 |
| Map 3..... | 141 |
| Map 4..... | 144 |
| Map 5..... | 145 |
| Map 6..... | 147 |
| Map 7..... | 163 |
| Map 8..... | 165 |
| Map 9..... | 167 |
| Map 10..... | 169 |

Acknowledgements

First of all, this PhD thesis would never have been possible without the cooperation of so many helpful, generous and sharing women in Cajamarca who invited me into their midst and not only made sure I walked away with more information than I knew what to do with, but more importantly showed me friendship and kindness when I was far away from home. I am so grateful to have had the opportunity to share time with them and learn from them. Of course, I owe a big thank you to the NGOs CATAPA and LAMMP for making sure I got in touch with the right women in Cajamarca, greatly facilitating my access. Furthermore, to my great Spanish teachers in Arequipa and Newcastle, who made sure I could actually speak to them. And of course, the other friends I made in Peru, happy to take me along to the *carnaval*, the local market or cinema; or to reassure me, poorly, that I was overreacting about that massive venomous spider above my bed.

In Newcastle, I big thank you first of all my supervisory team, Dr Katy Jenkins and Dr Mary Laing for their excellent feedback, patience and encouragement throughout the process. Furthermore, to everyone at the centre for International Development for their humour and assurance that at some point you just have to let the thesis go, and to Northumbria University for making this work, and my fieldwork possible.

Of course, I owe a to big thanks to my family, the old friends that have stood by me across the distances, and the great new ones I have made along the way, for sharing in the process; lending an ear and sharing great advice. A special thanks to Ana, for reviewing and correcting my Spanish abstract, and for no longer making fun of my terrible accent!

Finally, to all the women, near and far, known and unknown, that fight and struggle for their own rights and those of others; the women who inspire, resist, build each other up, and do not lose hope; to their courage, their humour, their friendship, I owe it all.

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 10/10/2016.

I declare that the word count of this thesis is 84,709 words

Name: Inge Boudewijn

Signature:

Date: 29/08/2019

1. Introduction

This thesis is the result of my long-standing interest in the overlap between gender, development and natural resources. The problematic of abundant resource extraction throughout the global South, and the relative invisibility of gender in many of these contexts, have made me interested in how women, in particular, deal with these issues. For my master's dissertation I conducted a short period of fieldwork in Cambodia to understand the particular obstacles women, and other vulnerable groups such as migrants and the elderly, face in sharing in benefit programmes related to community forestry. My interest in Latin America was awakened in 2013, when I started working for an NGO, CATAPA¹, supporting local communities across the continent in their battles against large-scale mining projects. At that particular time, we mainly focused on the anti-Conga mining movements in Cajamarca, Peru. The Conga mine would be a second large gold mine operated by *Minera Yanacocha* – the Yanacocha open-pit mine itself having opened in 1992. In 2012, the local population organised mass mobilisations, voicing their opposition to the coming of the Conga mine. This led to clashes with the police and the military, and putting Cajamarca in the national and international spotlight. Eventually, the Conga mining project was put on hold in 2016 (Bebbington et al., 2013; Newmont Mining Corporation, 2016).

Writing this work has given me the opportunity to explore the ongoing situation in Cajamarca, where I spent seven months conducting ethnographic fieldwork and collecting qualitative data in 2016-2017. Furthermore, it allowed me to return me to focusing on women and their stories. In Cajamarca, I observed the work of both women's and environmental organisations, and conducted interviews with twenty women; one of them in favour of the opening of the Conga mine, nineteen against it; sixteen currently active in various social and environmental movements across the region. Combining the collected data with theoretical understandings of Andean modernity, alternatives to development and ideas about belonging and relationships in place and landscape, in this thesis I critically analyse how Cajamarcan women understand and articulate their views of the Yanacocha and Conga mines and their impacts, powers and field of influence, in everyday life in the aftermath of socio-environmental conflict.

1.1 The mining boom and rise of socio-environmental movements

In the 1990s, prices for many different minerals rose, in some cases drastically. As prices went up, extraction became a profitable option in previously unexplored locations with

¹ Comité Académico Técnico de Asesoramiento a Problemas Ambientales.

low concentrations of minerals in the soil (Bridge, 2004). Excavating these low concentrations of minerals requires techniques such as large scale open-pit mining. The rapid growth of the number of proposed and realised open-pit mining sites worldwide, particularly in the global South, is a result of this so-called 'mining boom' (Bridge, 2004; Lust, 2014). Lust (2014) notes that between 1990 and 1997, mining investments in Peru grew by 2000%, compared to 400% in Latin America and 90% worldwide. The country continues to be one of the world's top producers of gold, silver, copper, zinc, tin and lead, amongst others (Bebbington and Bury, 2009; Franco, 2016; Lust, 2014). Mining companies are diverse in size, methods of extraction and methods for dealing with local communities and the government (Ballard and Banks, 2003). However, mining companies consistently tend to be the main 'winners' in mineral extraction, gathering most of the wealth, media support, and occasionally obtaining a position of power in the country in which they operate; either through threatening dependent governments or by securing government posts for personnel (Acosta, 2013). Various scholars, e.g. Acosta (2013); Gudynas (2013a); Lust (2014); Vega (2013) and Veltmeyer and Petras (2014), then, criticise the pursuit of mining and other natural resource extraction in Latin America under the guise of development as a continuation of European colonialism, motivated by the search for precious metals, and the associated modes of exploitation.

World-wide, open-pit mining is associated with putting a high pressure on land and water, and having various social and environmental impacts, including pollution, ground water depletion, release of dust and gases, decrease of social capital, and displacement and forced migration, amongst others (Bury, 2005; Cronjé et al., 2013; Hinojosa, 2013; Kitula, 2006; Lust, 2014; Monjezi et al., 2009; Narrei and Osanloo, 2015; Sosa and Zwarteveen, 2012). As the so-called 'extractive frontier' expanded, many Latin American countries have seen conflicts over territorial, indigenous and environmental rights, often focusing on water and land (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Bebbington et al., 2008; Bury, 2002; Jenkins, 2014a; Li, 2009b; Rasch, 2012; Urkidi, 2010; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014; Yagenova and Garcia, 2009). As Veltmeyer and Petras (2014) note:

"These conflicts, and associated pressures and struggles, pit peasant and indigenous movements against agents of global capital, and more often than not against nation states in which the extractive activities and indigenous communities are located. In this situation, the indigenous and peasant communities [...] are confronting forces and conditions leading to the dispossession of their lands, the loss of livelihoods, the pillage and looting of their subsoil resources, the degradations of the environment and their habitat, and also the privatisation, commodification and pollution of the water on which their

livelihoods, health and well-being, not to mention life itself, depend. At the same time, while the mining companies are making windfall profits as they ride the wave of soaring prices associated with the primary commodities boom, governments have come to increasingly depend on foreign direct investment (FDI) for the extraction of their countries' natural resource wealth as well as on the revenues derived from resource rents collected in the process.” (pp.1-2)

Peru is one of the major sites of such struggles (Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014). Since the 1990s, successive neoliberal governments have allowed the scale and intensity of extractivism in the country to soar to unprecedented heights, which has, in turn, fuelled opposition to it. The mining boom is far from over for the country; it expects 21 billion dollars in foreign mining investment between 2019 and 2021, up from 2.7 billion spent in 2018 (Millan Lombrana and Quigley, 2018). Main international companies with stakes in the Peruvian mining industry come from Australia, Canada, China, Switzerland and the United States of America (Lust, 2014). The government has often explicitly defined Peru as ‘a mining country’ (e.g. Ministerio de Energía y Minas (Undated)), a discourse aimed to connect mining to national identity, and thereby, the opposition to it as ‘anti-development’ and ‘anti-Peruvian’ (Himley, 2014). The mining sector accounts for large shares of the Peruvian government’s tax income and the treasury, and in fact, operations are often put in motion well before adequate mechanisms are put in place to ensure environmental accountability, transparency and financial distribution back to the regions (Bebbington and Bury, 2009; Lust, 2014).

As Bebbington et al. (2008) note, in Peru the expansion of the mining frontier often takes place in its historically neglected mountain region. As open-pit mining necessarily takes up a lot of space, clashes over land and/or the circumstances of land dispossession are common (Bebbington et al., 2008; Brain, 2017; Lust, 2014). Three notable mining related conflicts in the Peruvian Andes in the last five to ten years have been around the proposed Las Bambas mine in the south, where at the time of writing a state of emergency has been declared; the proposed Tía Maria mine in the south, and the Yanacocha/Conga conflict in the north. However, these represent only the tip of the iceberg: as of February 2019, the Peruvian Ombudsman recognises 89 active socio-environmental conflicts in the country, 56 of which concern mining (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2019). As Lust (2014) notes:

“the fighting in the Peruvian highlands and jungle cannot be considered as just a battle to defend ecosystems against the investments of (transnational) extractive capital, and of mining in particular. In fact, it is a battle for survival.” (p.217)

This struggle for survival also entails the struggle for survival of culture and customs. Implicit in this is a clash of worldviews and beliefs relating to what the future of a region should look like, in other words, whether or not the kind of development proposed by the mine is acceptable for people in the region (Bebbington et al., 2008; Bury, 2004; Jenkins, 2014a; Li, 2013; Lust, 2014).

As the problems of extractivism have become increasingly documented, so have its specific gendered impacts on women, including impacts on their physical and mental health, time, financial situation, gender roles and how these are perceived and valued in their communities and countries (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; Bhanumathi, 2002; Eftimie et al., 2009; Jenkins, 2014b, 2017; Jenkins and Rondón, 2015; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-b; Kalluri and Seema Mundoli, 2010, 2013; Lahiri-Dutt, 2012; Macintyre, 2002, 2011; Rondón, 2009; Seema Mundoli, 2011; Simatauw, 2002). Gendered impacts of mining have received particular academic attention in Asia, and to a lesser extent in Africa; in Latin America, this is a field of growing interest, where more research is needed on mining's particular effect on women's lives in local, specific contexts (Bebbington, 2015; Brain, 2017).

Similarly, as the literature on mining-related social movements expands, so has interest in, and recognition of, women's crucial part in these, as well as the obstacles they continue to face in becoming politically active, due to sexism and *machismo* (Aguinaga et al., 2013; Ausina et al., 2016; Jenkins, 2014a, 2017; Jenkins and Rondón, 2015; Rondón, 2009). There remains, however, a lot of work to be done in terms of putting women, their voices, and their struggles – be they in the 'private' or 'public' space – central, and fully understanding the intricate ways in which they see their lives as being altered by the coming of mining to their region. As this work is based on fieldwork conducted in the aftermath of environmental conflict, an area of research called for by Bebbington (2015), it critically analyses how processes of meaning-making regarding the mine continue after protests have died down and life seemingly has 'gone back to normal'. Thereby, it critically analyses the various ways in which the women understand the role the mine has, and continues to play, in their lives. By focusing on their descriptions of the mine, and the way it emerges from these stories, this work contributes to the creation of a coherent and holistic understanding of mining's effects on the lives of women. In order to do this, this thesis sets out to answer the following questions:

1.2 Research questions

How do women in Cajamarca conceptualise the mine?

- 1. How do women consider meaningful relationships within communities, and between people and place, to be altered since the mine has opened?*
- 2. How do women place the mine within their conception of human/other-than-human relationships?*
- 3. How does the mine influence the ways women (re-)consider desired futures?*

1.3 Thesis outline

In order to answer these questions, this thesis is laid out as follows:

In *Chapter 2*, I ‘set the stage’ that allows the reader to appreciate various aspects of the context in which the Cajamarcan women live their lives. It explores the way place and gender are constructed in popular Peruvian discourse, and gives a short overview of the history of Cajamarca within wider Peruvian history, focusing particularly on the last forty-odd years. Then, I go into more detail about the rationale and impacts of large-scale mining, before discussing the particular impacts this type of mining has shown to have on women, using examples from around the world.

In *Chapter 3*, I will outline the theoretical framework informing my empirical chapters, including an overview of some of the discourse on modernisation and development in Latin America; wider considerations of the concepts of place and place-attachment, landscape and the construction of ‘in and outsiders’ in relation to articulations of this, as well as applications to the context of mining in the Andes in particular, and how this relates to non-human inhabitants and presences of the landscape; and finally, outlining ideas and theories on social movements in Latin America, with particular attention to peasant, socio-environmental and women’s movements, all of which I have engaged with during my fieldwork.

Chapter 4 outlines the methods and methodology I have used to approach this fieldwork, as well as the creation of this thesis overall. I will discuss power, positionality and other ethical issues and considerations in relation to doing fieldwork in the Global South, particularly with women, and how I have aimed to approach this in a feminist way before, during, and after my fieldwork. I highlight the choices I have made along the way, and

focus on some particular issues I have faced in writing this work, and how I have tried to overcome them.

Chapter 5 is my first empirical chapter, corresponding to my first sub-research question. In this chapter, the notions of place-attachment and ‘in and outsiders’ are central. Using these tools, I analyse how women view relationships in Cajamarca changed since the coming of the mine, both between people, as with the nature of ‘Cajamarca’ itself. I highlight how the women feel that values and trust between people are shifting; arguing that the coming of the mine has caused a fundamental disruption in their sense of place and ‘belonging’, where what was once taken for granted has become painfully absent. In this section, I focus particularly on changes observed in the less-researched urban milieu, as well as dedicating a section to how this is experienced in the countryside.

In *Chapter 6*, I focus on the second sub-research question by highlighting women’s meaningful relationships with their surrounding landscape and the natural entities inhabiting it. Again, I analyse accounts of both rural and urban women; particularly highlighting how urban and *mestiza*-identifying women frame their relationships to the landscape, which has been given little academic attention. I go on to show that they also imbue the landscape with particular symbolism and qualities in similar ways to rural/*campesina*-identifying women. As I will argue, in this way both rural and urban women communicate a particular interpretation of the mine, as meaningfully affecting their daily lives in both their rural and urban environments.

In *Chapter 7*, I focus on the final sub-research question in order to analyse women’s ideas of, and aspirations for, the future. First, I critically explore various ways in which imagined futures with mining can take shape, before going into the women’s interpretation and challenging of the concept of development more particularly. I will show that there are various ways the women imagine development for their region: what they have in common is the desire for a type of development that ‘fits’ in Cajamarca, in other words, that comes from within, rather than from ‘outside’, and the various forms this can take. Through this discussion, I argue that the women’s relationships with the future are permanently altered through the coming (or threatened coming) of the mine, which has become central to communicating them, and radical to oppose.

Taking all of this together in *Chapter 8*, I will draw together my main arguments from the other chapters in order to answer my main research question, highlighting the ways in which this work can be taken to further inform our understanding of women's interpretations of large-scale mining and its less tangible impacts, as well as indicating pathways for future research looking to conceptualise the indirect impacts of mining on women's lives, through the shifts, changes and interruptions it comes to represent.

2. Setting the stage

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce several factors shaping the context in which Cajamarcan women live their everyday lives. First things first: Cajamarca is a region in the northern Peruvian Andes, home over 1,5 million people. Over 200.000 of them live in its capital city Cajamarca. Unlike most of Peru, Cajamarca is a predominantly rural region. While at the national level, as of 2017, Peru's population is 23% rural, 77% urban; 65% of Cajamarca's population is found in rural areas. Out of the country's 23 regions, it is one of just five with a rural population averaging over 50% (CPI, 2017). A vast majority of Cajamarca's population speak Spanish as their first language; only 0,6% speak Quechua (INEI, 2017). It is currently the poorest region in the country (Andina, 2017). Cajamarca region is divided into 13 provinces; in this work I focus on the southern Provinces of Cajamarca (Capital city: Cajamarca), Celendín (Celendín), and Hualgayoc (Bambamarca); see figures 1 and 2 below. These regions were selected for being located in the direct impact zones of the Yanacocha and Conga mines, the mining projects informing the context of my research.



Figure 1: Location of Cajamarca region within Peru (Wikimedia Commons, 2010).



Figure 2: The 13 provinces of Cajamarca region (Wikimedia Commons, 2011).

In this chapter, I contextualise the situation in Cajamarca as it is today and explore the impacts of mining on local communities in general, and women in particular. I do this through outlining the key context and issues at play in Cajamarca, as well as relating to large-scale mining projects in general. I will start with a short outline of constructions of race and femininity in Cajamarca and Peru in section 2.2. Next, I highlight the historical context the mining conflicts are taking place in, focusing on key issues and occurrences in recent Cajamarcan and Peruvian history in section 2.3. In section 2.4, I go on to explore the impacts and actors involved in large-scale mining, focusing, where possible, on Cajamarca in particular. In section 2.5, I look at the effect of large-scale mining on women, as outlined by scholars studying the situation worldwide, again focusing, where possible, on Peru and Cajamarca.

2.2 Constructions of race and femininity

In this section, I will briefly explore how the notions of race and gender are constructed in present day Peru, particularly the Andean mountain region, which Cajamarca is part of. I introduce these discussions early on, as I feel they inform a lot of the key contexts informing women's everyday lives in Cajamarca, as part of the cultural settings in which they take place.

2.2.1 Peruvian geographies

Peru is often divided into the imagined geography of coast, mountains and jungle – each crucially defined by its own culture, peoples, and landscape – a distinction that I will also refer to in this work (see Figure 3). However, it is worth noting that Orlove (1993) discusses how this division, generally considered 'common sense' is simultaneously a social construct, an imagined geography mainly popularised in the post-colonial state. In this threefold construction, the mountains are the obvious obstacle; separating the peoples of the coast from those of the inland, hindering easy movement. In this way, early Peruvian governments considered the Andes mountains a geographical and physical obstacle to national development and integration. Similarly, Orlove (1993) argues, there is a long tradition of framing the inhabitants of the highlands, at the time commonly referred to as *indios* (Indians), as an 'obstacle to development', whereas the coast, with capital city Lima, is generally considered location for the more 'cultured', 'white' and *mestizo*² (Escárzaga, 2001; Shadle, 2011). Escárzaga (2001) and McCormick (1992) trace this back to the fact that the Spanish colonisers mainly settled

² Literally: associated with being of both European and indigenous descent; cultural implications include accepting dominant European modes of thinking.

on the coast, leading to this duality of white coast versus indigenous highlands that persists until this day.



Figure 3: Geopolitical Division of Peru; regions considered coast (blue); mountain (orange); forest (green) (Hernández-Vásquez et al., 2016).

Apart from this tripartite division at the national level, Peru is home to an imagined geography of race and class along a rural-urban divide (Coxshall, 2010; De la Cadena, 1998; Wade, 2001), where the state has a long and on-going history of marginalising and suppressing the rural populations (De la Cadena, 2008; Radcliffe, 1993). In both colonial and post-colonial times, then, both the government's and general discourse have constructed the city as the place for the literate and the educated, cultured, 'white' and 'European', while the countryside is associated with the indigenous; its population considered more negatively, as backward and traditional (De la Cadena, 2005, 2008, 2010; Laurie et al., 2003; Radcliffe, 1993; Wade, 2001; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). There are similarities, then, between the construction of the coast and of the urban on the one hand; and the highlands and the rural on the other. The city has long been framed as the site where 'the Indian' from the countryside could 'become *mestizo*', i.e. more 'acceptable' and less 'backward', through education in line with Eurocentric world views, including those of the catholic church (De la Cadena, 2005, 2008, 2010; Radcliffe, 1993; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). Note that both *indio* (no longer used due to the racist connotations (Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993)), and *campesino* refer mainly to rural

populations, as the city is the place of *mestizos*. While *campesino* literally means peasant, Starn (1991) highlights that the category is broader than just those who farm: it is, in effect, a descriptor of an ethnic group with the ethnic implication taken away, instead becoming “a political economic class identity” (Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993, p. 9). The term ‘*campesino*’ was pushed by the Peruvian state in the early 1970s in order to downplay ethnic difference in the country, and vastly embraced by the rural Andean population, wishing to overcome the discrimination and marginalisation they had long faced (Coxshall, 2010; Radcliffe, 1993; Starn, 1991), associated with the label ‘indigenous’. This sets Peru apart from other Andean countries, where people in the highlands often consider themselves indigenous (Coxshall, 2010). However, rural ways of life in Peru continue to be associated with the ‘traditional’ and thereby face stigmatisation (De la Cadena, 2008; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993).

2.2.2 Gender roles in Andean communities

National constructions of class and ethnicity furthermore play a role in shaping gender identities and ideas about acceptable femininities and masculinities (Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). These constructions are partly made through the exercise of nation-building, where women were assigned traditional roles such as minders of the community and the domestic (Laurie et al., 1999). The women’s place is perceived to be in the home, as ‘mothers’, while men are seen in the public domain – including government, the military and the police (García Guadilla, 1993; Radcliffe, 1993; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). Laurie et al. (1999) discuss the discrepancies of being ‘*campesina*’ and being a ‘woman’ in the Peruvian state’s construction of each; on the one hand, as peasants, and on the other hand, as housekeepers, leading to confusing and contrasting demands on peasant women. Furthermore, De la Cadena (1992) and Radcliffe (1993) discuss how these multiple identities of women lead to higher rates of marginalisation by both the state and within their communities.

In Andean societies, women are often associated with cultural reproduction (Radcliffe et al., 2003). Forstner (2013) shows that being hard-working is considered a high virtue in many Andean cultures, and that women from the southern Peruvian Andes felt women should be busy all day: with domestic responsibilities, on the farm, and duties and activities to generate income. Women therefore considered hard work a source of their identity as a woman. Other virtues they associated with women were selflessness, patience, honesty, reliability, friendliness, knowledgeability, cheerfulness and

responsibility (Forstner, 2013). Paulson (2003) urges for caution in the simple categorisation of 'men' and 'women' when discussing traditional gender roles in Andean communities. It became obvious from her research in Bolivian Andean farming communities that women were understood in different subcategories – e.g. young, married, mothers, widows – and associated with different responsibilities accordingly. However, while it is not always straightforward to demarcate "men's" or "women's" work, she notes that every domain generally has a gendered task division, including gendered knowledge, skills and strategies. This echoes the wider emphasis of feminist political ecology, which notes that resource rights, knowledge and skills are gendered (Rocheleau et al., 1996). In both urban and rural areas, Andean women are traditionally responsible caring for the everyday well-being of livestock, and looking after their families by providing firewood, gathering plants for medicine and food, as well as by performing domestic responsibilities such as cooking, cleaning and looking after children. Men are more likely to be involved in commercial activities, be it professional, agricultural, or seasonal migrant labour elsewhere (Conger Lind, 1992; Katz, 2003; Paulson, 2003). Women's domestic and subsistence work is often invisible, but allows men to pursue paid work (Conger Lind, 1992). Radcliffe et al. (2003) argue that this division of labour into commercial on the one hand and subsistence and domestic work on the other may devalue the estimation of women's work, especially in the context of economic change, resulting in an aggravation of unequal power relations between men and women. Furthermore, Andean women are more likely to be illiterate than men, meaning that less opportunities are open to them (De la Cadena, 1992). Forstner (2013) notes that when women do gain opportunities to generate economic income, these are often 'added onto' their existing household responsibilities, which increases pressure and demands on their time; a concern echoed more broadly in feminist development literature (e.g. Aguinaga et al. (2013); Conger Lind (1992); Razavi and Miller (1995)). When opportunities for work and earning income are perceived as interfering with women's domestic duties, some men become opposed to women devoting time to this work (Forstner, 2013). This highlights the problem of a prevalent *machismo* culture as observed in many Andean societies. Bolton (1979) defines *machismo* as:

"... an ethos that lauds a type of masculinity stressing behavioural prescriptions of the following kind. To be macho, a male must be assertive, powerful, aggressive, and independent, capable of defending his honor and his rights and of showing his manly superiority [...] A macho must demonstrate not only superiority over other men, but also dominance over women." (pp. 318-319)

By doing so, as Hernandez (2002) notes, “*machismo defines manhood*” (p.861) in many Latin American countries; as a result, it simultaneously sets out gender roles, norms and expectations for women, and legitimises the use of violence against them if they are seen to transgress these. Bolton (1979) similarly specifies that this show of dominance or superiority over women may include physical violence, which De la Cadena (1992) and Radcliffe et al. (2003) highlight as a particular issue facing Peruvian Andean women today.

2.3 Locating Cajamarca within contemporary Peruvian history

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of some key historical moments in Peru and Cajamarca, mostly contemporary, that inform and contextualise the present-day situation.

2.3.1 A brief overview of pre-1980 Cajamarca

The region of Cajamarca has a long history, both pre-Colombian and pre-Inca, evidenced, for example, by archaeological remains such as the religious complex of *Kuntur Wasi*, linked to the Chavín or pre-Chavín period (Druc, 2011; Inokuchi, 1998). According to Deere (1990), Cajamarca was the last major region added to the Inca empire, and as a result was never fully culturally or socioeconomically integrated during this 57 year period. In spite of this, the city of Cajamarca remains intricately associated with the Inca empire in present day, as it is the site of its fall to the Spanish colonisers (Diamond, 1999). During the Spanish colonial period, many Cajamarcans became reliant on haciendas (Deere, 1990). After Peru’s independence from Spain, the current Cajamarca region was part of the bigger region of La Libertad. During the 1854 civil war, a regionalist rebellion in Cajamarca gave them ‘regional independence’ (Ruiz, 2013). According to Deere (1990), the region had an above average level of Spanish acculturation, with a large percentage of the population identifying as *mestizo* by the late 1800s. This explains why, as Starn (1991) describes, historically anthropologists have been more interested in the middle and southern Peruvian Andes, considering the northern highlands of less interest as the population’s connection to their pre-Hispanic heritage and traditions was perceived lost (also (Li, 2013; Starn, 1991). Recall, for example, how unlike in the southern highlands, Quechua is no longer (widely) spoken in Cajamarca (Li, 2013; Starn, 1991).

Franco (2016) notes that over its history, Cajamarca has been mainly agricultural; in terms of crops grown, potato has long been the main one, followed by rice, a variety of maize, and yucca. The population's reliance on *haciendas* for their livelihoods continued until the early to mid-1900s (Bury, 2004; Deere, 1990); a regional shift to cattle farming and dairy production occurred in the early 1900s (Bury, 2004; Franco, 2016). Peru was home to peasant revolts mainly in the period between 1953-1964, demanding access to land for indigenous and *campesino* communities, the right to unionise, improved salaries and access to education (Escárzaga, 2001). A military coup, headed by general Velasco, overthrew Peru's government in 1968 and implemented several reforms, including the agrarian reform, which dismantled the *hacienda* system (Fumerton, 2001; Shadle, 2011). However, by the time the military government's land reforms were implemented, the majority of Cajamarca's population had no claim to land. In anticipation of what was to follow, the hacienda owners in the region had already given up their least productive land through sub-divisions and sales, to retain the most productive lands after the reform (Bury, 2004; Deere, 1990; Starn, 1991).

2.3.2 The *Rondas Campesinas*

Accounts of increased theft of livestock, cattle in particular, emerged in 1960s Cajamarca (Piccoli, 2009). At this time, rustling became more attractive because of the rising demand for meat across Peru, particularly in urban areas and the coast (Gitlitz and Rojas, 1983; Starn, 1991). At the same time, Peru was in the midst of an economic crisis, which led to cattle, as a form of saving, becoming even more vital for small scale rural survival strategies than it had been before. Therefore, the increase in rustling at this particular time was even more devastating to the peasantry than it would likely have been at another point in time (Gitlitz and Rojas, 1983; Starn, 1991). The local population theorised that the police were working together with the rustlers, or set them free in return for part of the profit, trying to supplement their income during the economic crisis. The local belief that authorities such as the police and judges only served the interests of the rich and powerful dates back to at least the Spanish colonial regime (Gitlitz and Rojas, 1983; Starn, 1991).

The *Rondas Campesinas* (literally translated as Peasant Patrols; from here on out: *Rondas*) emerged from this context of power vacuums and lack of strong authorities (Coxshall, 2010; Starn, 1991). The first *Ronda* came about on December 29, 1976 in Cuyomalca (Chota province, Cajamarca region), with the aim of conducting night patrols

as surveillance against thieves (Nuñez Palomino, 1996; Piccoli, 2009; Starn, 1991). During the 1980s, hundreds of communities set up their own *Rondas* across Cajamarca and neighbouring regions (Nuñez Palomino, 1996; Starn, 1991). These proved very successful in halting rustling and other robberies, which gave them both legitimacy, as well as time to focus on other kinds of conflict resolution (Starn, 1991). Through continuously expanding their functions within their communities, the *Rondas* became somewhat of an alternative justice system, holding assemblies that were open to the community where they solved problems and disputes over land, livestock or water; cases of drunkenness, fights between neighbours and domestic violence; as well as constructing irrigation canals and repairing roads (Gitlitz and Rojas, 1983; Nuñez Palomino, 1996; Piccoli, 2009; Starn, 1991). Coxshall (2010), Nuñez Palomino (1996) and Gitlitz and Rojas (1983) emphasise that while the *Rondas* came to take on government functions, they were filling an existing void rather than taking over existing roles. Gradually, they became identified as a new form of local cooperation and autonomy, often gradually becoming more respected and trusted than official forms of government justice in the Andean north (Starn, 1991).

In recent years, the role of the *Rondas* has shifted. When I attended the congress of the *Rondas Campesinas* in Chota, January 2017, many of the speakers considered the history of the *Rondas* to have come about in three waves: first, the problem of cattle robbery, second, to resist the violence brought about during the civil war and the *Sendero Luminoso* (explored in the next section), and third, to resist the coming of large multinational companies that come to take the natural resources from their region, mainly through mining, but also through hydro-electric projects such as those planned in the Marañón river (Allende, 2016). The *Rondas*' crucial role in opposing mining in Cajamarca was noted, for example, by Bebbington et al. (2008).

It is perhaps not surprising that the *Rondas* have long been regarded with suspicion by official state authorities (Gitlitz and Rojas, 1983; Starn, 1991). As the *Rondas*, through their work, take away some state authority by fulfilling some of its key functions, they were regarded as potentially radical and anti-state. However, Starn (1991) argues the *Rondas* exhibit respect towards the state and the law, opposing only corruption, not the government overall. Various legal documents deal with the *Rondas* to some extent (Nuñez Palomino, 1996; Piccoli, 2009); Piccoli (2009) marks no.27908 as the most important one. Put forward in 2003, it recognises the *Rondas* as an organisation with

rights to conduct vigilance and administration of justice, as long as it supports *campesina* communities. One of the problems, Piccoli (2009) states, is that several laws and conventions – such as ILO convention 169 – are in place to support indigenous people’s rights, but do not further support the *Rondas* as the *campesinos* do not identify as indigenous (Coxshall, 2010; Piccoli, 2009). In 2003, the *Rondas Urbanas*, city patrols, were set up in Cajamarca city, mostly for night-watches and vigilance, and monitoring of contested spaces such as night-clubs and brothels (Arteaga, 2015; Piccoli, 2014). They have less legal rights than the *Rondas Campesinas*; for example, they do not have the right to punish (Zubieta, 2014).

Starn (1991) highlights how the *Rondas* continue to have a patriarchal aspect. While women have participated in the *Rondas* from the start, and the *Rondas Femininas* (women’s rounds) sprung up early on, they often fulfilled a supportive role, such as ensuring their husbands fulfilled their duties (Gitlitz and Rojas, 1983; Starn, 1991). Women’s participation at meetings was limited both in terms of attendance, as many husbands do not want their wives to attend, and by activity at meetings itself, where women present generally had less input, and risk getting ridiculed, ignored, and in trouble with their husbands if they spoke up (Starn, 1991); issues that, as I will discuss later, women in social movements in general, and anti-mining movements in particular, face until this day (Jenkins, 2014a; Rondón, 2009). So, the *Rondas* did not challenge the idea of men belonging in public, and women in private domains. However, they did become a place where women could report spousal abuse, which was often met with indifference from the police. Therefore, women believed that the *Rondas* contributed to decreasing domestic violence (Starn, 1991). Piccoli (2009), however, notes how in instances of domestic violence, different perspectives often arise in the *Rondas*’ debates. The outcome may depend on the number of women *ronderas* present; where more men are represented in the committee, they might validate *machismo* behaviour and favour the position of the husband, another way in which the *Rondas* can perpetuate patriarchal norms.

2.3.3 Sendero Luminoso

As mentioned in the previous section, Peru faced an economic regression in the 1970s. McCormick (1990) outlines this as one of three main problems in Peru at the time:

“the collapse of the modern economic sector, manifested through an increasingly negative growth rate, combined with hyperinflation and high debt; the slow

radicalisation of Peruvian politics, evidenced by the low approval rate of the president at the time, Garcia, with alternative parties offering but a weak counterpoint, and finally, the rise of Sendero Luminoso” (p.V).

Sendero Luminoso (hereafter: *Sendero*) is a left-wing terrorist guerrilla group that left a huge mark on Peru in the 1980s and 1990s in particular; under their reign, almost 70.000 people were killed (Theidon, 2006). *Sendero* was founded in 1970 by Abimael Guzman, as a result of tensions and breaking off factions of Peru’s communist parties (McCormick, 1990). A cult of personality was built around Guzman: he became the focal point, undisputed leader and organiser behind *Sendero*’s operations, demanding absolute loyalty (Escárzaga, 2001; McCormick, 1990). Guzman and *Sendero* were inspired by the work of Peruvian socialist philosopher Mariátegui, who saw Peru as exploited by the US in particular, and other more powerful nations in general. Mariátegui saw the peasant communities of the highlands as the base of Peruvian socialism; therefore, *Sendero* saw these areas as the opportune location to begin the Peruvian revolution (Escárzaga, 2001; McCormick, 1990; Shadle, 2011). Through trading a language of ethnic differences for a language of class difference, *Sendero* played into the cultural, racial and ethnic tensions between coast and highland, countryside and city (Escárzaga, 2001; McCormick, 1992). By furthermore using local beliefs and ideologies to their own benefit, *Sendero* began getting *campesinos* on their side in the central-southern mountain region of Ayacucho (McCormick, 1990). Although attacks expanded through the region, they were initially dismissed by the state as a local problem to be handled by local police (Fumerton, 2001; McCormick, 1990). After taking control of the province of Ayacucho, *Sendero* expanded further in the central-southern mountain regions, the *pueblos jóvenes*³ of Lima, and valleys of the Amazon region (McCormick, 1990, 1992; Shadle, 2011). By the time the state decided to react, *Sendero* was far ahead of them and growing rapidly, leaving the government in a constant position of having to react, failing to get the upper hand (McCormick, 1990, 1992; Shadle, 2011). *Sendero* fought a guerrilla war against the government, using a combination of violence, terrorism, sabotage and propaganda (McCormick, 1990; Shadle, 2011). *Sendero*’s aim was disrupting daily life through destabilising the economy and destroying infrastructure, making regions ungovernable (Escárzaga, 2001). The government eventually responded by placing almost two-thirds of the country under the administration of a ruthless military, often leaving the *campesinos* of Ayacucho, and beyond, caught between two fires (Starn, 1991).

³ Poor neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city, often home to many migrants from the mountain region (Herold and Sanjur, 1986).

While initially, academics such as McClintock (1984) interpreted *Sendero* as a leftist peasant revolution/rebellion, in later years the group came to be understood as driven by intellectuals in the name of peasants rather than by peasants themselves; following the ideals of the agrarian revolution through Andean cultural norms, such as self-sufficiency and collective agriculture, in theory, but not in practice (Fumerton, 2001). The working class was often excluded by *Sendero*, and they used the ethnic conflicts in Peruvian society strategically, to stoke the fire of *campesinos* who felt excluded, ridiculed and pushed to the periphery, without intention to resolve them (Escárzaga, 2001). Their aim, then, was not to meet or represent the demands of the many, but to link the demands of the many to their own goals, in order to get the many to work for them (McCormick, 1992).

The northern mountain regions, including Cajamarca, were less affected by *Sendero* than those in the southern and central mountains. This is associated with the work of the *Rondas Campesinas* by scholars such as Starn (1991) and Bebbington et al. (2008). While there were initial fears that the revolutionary spirit implicit in both *Sendero* and the *Rondas* would lead to a coalition, or the absorption of the *Rondas* by *Sendero*, the *Rondas* of Cajamarca generally held negative sentiments towards *Sendero*, and they tended to be quite successful as local vigilance against infiltration (Piccoli, 2009; Starn, 1991). It is important to note the distinction between the *Rondas Campesinas* of Cajamarca, and the self-defence committees set up in the south which were sometimes called *Rondas Campesinas* as well. Often supported or set up by the state, their goal was to patrol their zones and fight *Sendero*; they are therefore different in origin, aims and background to the *Rondas Campesinas* of Cajamarca (Fumerton, 2001; Nuñez Palomino, 1996; Piccoli, 2009). Fumerton (2001) suggests the name was used partly to copy the sense of grass-roots peasant organising and activism that had become associated with the *Rondas* of the north.

2.3.4 Political situation and the Fujimori years

As I have mentioned, under the Garcia administration of the 1980s, the government mostly responded to *Sendero* by sending in the military, disregarding the social tensions at the base of the conflict (McCormick, 1990). Alberto Fujimori was elected president in 1990, to the surprise of many. In a quick political rise, he contrasted himself with the politicians in power, who he claimed had let the country fall in ruins (Escárzaga, 2001; Shadle, 2011). His success partly stemmed from his promises to be tough on the terrorist

activities of *Sendero* (Escárzaga, 2001). Thereby, the rise and duration of *Fujimorismo* must be understood in the context that made it possible; i.e., the rise of *Sendero* and the consecutive years of terror (Escárzaga, 2001), which, as evidenced by writing at the time such as that of McCormick (1990), was thought to be an insurmountable problem for the Peruvian state.

Fujimori remained popular through his stabilisation of the national economy by forging a neoliberal path, and by managing to capture *Sendero* frontman Guzman in September 1992 (Fumerton, 2001; Shadle, 2011; Theidon, 2006). Escárzaga (2001) describes the downfall of *Sendero* partly to a flaw in its own plans; they had been aiming for a military coup d'état in 1992, but failed to capitalise on it as they had planned, going under amidst all the violence. Fujimori, on the other hand, assigned himself more powers through a 'self-coup' in 1992, and was re-elected in 1995 and 2000 (Escárzaga, 2001; Shadle, 2011; Theidon, 2006). During this time, he was guilty of abuses of power including treason, trafficking of drugs and weapons, and corruption (Escárzaga, 2001). As his popularity, based on past accomplishments, faded, he turned ever more authoritarian and promoted a fear of renewed revolts and terrorism as a way to remain in power. He resigned shortly after his 2000 re-election due to a corruption/bribery scandal, fleeing the country (Shadle, 2011; Theidon, 2006).

2.3.5 Yanacocha and Conga, the short history of large-scale mining in Cajamarca

From the Fujimori years onwards, Peru has followed a neoliberal strategy to economic development (Heuser, 2018). The neoliberal constitution set out under Fujimori's government in 1993 welcomed transnational extractivist companies; during and after his reign, laws were implemented protecting the interests of these companies on the one hand, while making it harder to safeguard the natural environment on the other (Bury, 2004; Lust, 2014). Mining, then, is promoted by the neoliberal Peruvian government as an appropriate strategy for economic development of the country; by Fujimori, as well as under president that followed him: Toledo, returning president Garcia, and the left-leaning Humala (Bury, 2005; Himley, 2014; Lust, 2014; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014). While prior to becoming president, the latter had argued for restricting foreign company's access to Peru's national resources, after being elected in 2011 he sided with these transnational companies, keeping the country on the neoliberal path associating extractivism with development (Lust, 2014; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014).

2.3.5.1 Yanacocha

While prior to the opening of Yanacocha, Cajamarca was not a mining region (Vela-Almeida et al., 2016), mining has gradually become the most important economic activity in the region in the meantime (Franco, 2016). The open-pit mine began operating in 1992 under the name *Minera Yanacocha*, owned by the US-based Newmont mining (51.35%), the Peruvian Buenaventura (43.65%) and the International Finance Corporation (5%)⁴ (Bebbington et al., 2008; Lust, 2014). Bebbington et al. (2008) explain that the Yanacocha mine is notable for being “*the first significant large scale foreign direct investment in Peru following the decade of the 1980s lost to hyperinflation and the civil war*” (p.2893) (also: De Echave (2005)). The mine is located in the Encañada district in the province of Cajamarca, some thirty-five kilometres north of Cajamarca city (Bury, 2005; Dominguez Gonzales, 2001). It is one of the largest active open-pit gold mines in South America, as well as the second most productive gold mine in the world (Franco, 2016; Lust, 2014). Between 2016 and 2019, the mine has produced around 500,000 ounces of gold per year (Andina, 2018), down from a peak production of over 3.3 million in 2005 (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2006).

While there was little opposition in Cajamarca to the coming of the Yanacocha mine initially, the discontent grew as the mine did not live up to its promise of bringing employment opportunities and development for the local population, in line with trends observed in open-pit mining projects elsewhere in the Global South (Bebbington et al., 2008; Li, 2013; Vela-Almeida et al., 2016). Large mining companies often do not have many jobs available for local populations, due to their large and international nature and heavy reliance on machinery and skilled labour (Acosta, 2013; Bury, 2007; Svampa, 2013); in the case of Yanacocha, specialised professionals were brought in from the coastal region of Peru and abroad (Bury, 2007; Steel, 2013). In general, large-scale mining companies often attract an influx of migrants to a region hoping to acquire work in the mine or peripheral industries developing around the site (Bury, 2007; Gifford and Kestler, 2008; Steel, 2013).

According to Bebbington et al. (2008) and Sosa and Zwarteveen (2012) it was unfairness of land acquisition by Yanacocha that started the first waves unrest in rural Cajamarca in the 1990s. *Campesinos* objected to what they felt was unfair compensation, as well

⁴ In June 2018, Yanacocha announced that the 5% stock previously owned by the International Finance Corporation was sold to the Japanese mining company Sumitomo (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2018b).

as pressure and betrayal in the methods the company employed in getting people to sell their land (Lust, 2014). As land became more scarce, prices inflated, leaving many unable to buy parcels of equal size and/or quality to what they had previously owned (Bebbington et al., 2008). Furthermore, in the late 1990s, *campesino* populations began ascribing negative impacts to the Yanacocha mine, such as pollution, the disappearance of lakes to make room for the mine and dying fish stocks (Bebbington, 1999; Bebbington et al., 2008; Bury, 2004, 2005; Franco, 2016; Langdon, 2000; Li, 2013)⁵. In urban areas, it was the quality of urban water supply that started urban opposition to the Yanacocha mine in the late 1990s. Furthermore, there was concern over the rapid growth of the city, and along with it, social ills. (Bebbington et al., 2008; Bury, 2005). According to the Peruvian National Institute for Statistics and Information (INEI), Cajamarca city had roughly 230.000 inhabitants in 1993, versus almost 348.500 in 2017. During this time, the population in surrounding rural provinces fell (INEI, 2018).

Before the 2012 clashes over the proposed Conga mine, two notable events further influenced public perception of Yanacocha. First of all, the relationship between the company and the local population took a turn for the worse when in 2000, a vehicle contracted by Yanacocha exposed around 1200 people in the village of Choropampa to dangerous levels of mercury. They took inadequate measures to evacuate those who had been exposed (Bebbington et al., 2008; Franco, 2016; Monning, 2005). Secondly, in 2004, the company started exploration for an expansion of the Yanacocha mine into the area of *Cerro Quilish* (Mount Quilish). This expansion had previously been put on hold in the late 1990s due to the mountain being a source of water for neighbouring communities. However, when in 2004 the Yanacocha mine was again given the green light to expand into Quilish, a fifteen day protest resulted, led by both urban and rural organisations (including *Rondas Campesinas*), paralysing the city and the mine's activities and halting the expansion (Bebbington et al., 2008; De Echave, 2005; Li, 2013).

2.3.5.2 Conga

The Conga project was a proposed new mine by *Minera Yanacocha*, officially announced in 2011, that would extract gold and copper (Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). It was projected to help the company reach their goal of extracting 7 million ounces of gold by 2017, as well as 4000 million pounds of copper (Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014). The proposed project would use 3069 hectares of land in the provinces of Cajamarca and Celendín, some 73 kilometres northeast of the city of Cajamarca (Franco, 2016; Sullivan, 2013). Similar to the Yanacocha mine, the Conga mining project was promised to bring

⁵ Below, I will explore the effects that large-scale mining can have in more detail.

further investment and development to the area (Franco, 2016). However, this time, local opposition was critical, fearing Conga would mean 'more of the same': pollution, lack of compensation, land acquisition and deteriorated quality of crops and animal products. To facilitate the construction of the mine, four high mountain lakes, of importance to the local population, would have to disappear to make room for infrastructure (Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). The company proposed to replace them with four water reservoirs, which the local population did not consider an acceptable solution, as they feared the proposed water basins would not be adequately maintained to meet their needs. Furthermore, the lakes are part of a wider and unique highland ecosystem, and are of cultural significance to the local population (Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017; Sullivan, 2013).

All of this led to the project being heavily contested, with water becoming a central player in the protests (Lust, 2014; Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). Mobilisations against the coming of the Conga mine began in 2011, with marches and strikes. A central focus lay on the perceived betrayal by president Humala, who came out in favour of Conga. However, during his presidential campaign in Cajamarca he had argued that water is more valuable than gold (Franco, 2016). The anti-Conga protests intensified in frequency and intensity, and multiple violent clashes between protestors and police occurred (Franco, 2016; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014). In November 2011, a state of emergency was declared in the provinces of Cajamarca, Hualgayoc, Contumazá and Celendín (Franco, 2016). Between February 1 and 9 2012, the "Grand National March for the Right to Water and Life" saw Cajamarcans marching to Lima to have their voices heard (Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014); while an official number is hard to find, a conservative estimate puts the number of participants arriving in Lima at 700 (Fraser, 2012).

Marches, including women's marches, were frequent in the city and towns of Cajamarca in the first half of 2012, which saw various provinces of Cajamarca in an almost constant state of emergency (Sullivan, 2014). Furthermore, groups of people, often *Ronderos*, frequently travelled to the lakes threatened by Conga for extended vigils, to ensure no work was being done. These people became known as 'the guardians of the lakes'⁶ and became emblematic for the anti-Conga struggles (De la Cadena, 2015b; Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). These vigils and other forms of protest went on for months, often leading to violent clashes with police and the army (Li, 2013; Paredes Peñafiel & Li, 2017). The period of heavy activism reached its peak in 2012, when five people lost

⁶ *Guardianes de las Lagunas.*

their lives as a result of their involvement; four in Celendín and one in Bambamarca; many more suffered violence and threats at the hands of military and police (Loayza, 2012; Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). The Peruvian government often framed the anti-mining movements as anti-development (Mendívil, 2016); thereby continuing to invoke the duality of developed coast versus the mountain region as the 'obstacle to development' as described by Orlove (1993). The protest attracted interest from international NGOs and news outlets, giving traction to the validity of the social movements (De la Cadena, 2015b). In August 2012, the Conga project was suspended for two years (Martinez-Alier, 2012); ultimately, it was indefinitely halted in 2016 for lack of community support (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2016).

2.3.5.3 Notable recent developments

In 2018, Newmont announced its plans to expand the Yanacocha mine with the 'Quecher Main' construction, to start production in late 2019. This would prolong the mine's life to 2027, producing 200,000 ounces of gold a year (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2018a). Furthermore, the company announced they wish to further expand in the future, to prolong Yanacocha's productivity until 2039 (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2018b). While so far no mass mobilisations have been reported, acts of organised resistance, such as trespassing, have occurred at the Quecher Main property (La República, 2019).

Another notable socio-environmental movement in Cajamarca has taken place in the east of Celendín province where, as mentioned before, *Rondas* and local populations have moved against the opening of a hydro-electric dam, Chadin 2. Approved in 2014, it would be the main dam out of at least 20, which would cause planned flooding of villages and agricultural areas in the lower lying areas of the province, leading to displacement (Allende, 2016; Hill, 2016). In 2015, a prominent resistance leader was killed (Hill, 2016). Chadin 2 is planned by a subsidiary of Odebrecht, a Brazilian construction firm that made international headlines in 2017 when its international multi-million dollar corruption became apparent (BBC News, 2017; Watts, 2017). Described as the potentially the biggest corruption scandal ever (Hernández Fernández, 2018; Watts, 2017), it mostly involved Latin American countries, including Peru, where Odebrecht used an estimated 29 million to support political campaigns in exchange for building contracts (BBC News, 2017). Implicated were former presidents Toledo and Humala, as well as the president at the time, Kuczynski, who saw himself forced to resign in March 2018, and one of his main opponents, Keiko Fujimori (daughter of the ex-president) (Hernández Fernández,

2018; Heuser, 2018). Vice president Vizcarra then took his position and is in power at the time of writing, remaining relatively popular at the national level due to his anti-corruption stance (Peru21, 2019).

2.4 The rationale and impacts of large-scale mining

In this section, I will give an introduction to the concept of the ‘resource curse’, which outlines some of the main problems around the regulation of extractivism. Then, I discuss some of the main impacts of large scale open-pit mining on the environment and local livelihoods. Where possible, I draw on examples from Cajamarca and Peru. Then, I discuss some of the practicalities related to the movements arising in response to this type of mining.

2.4.1 The Resource curse

Traditionally, many resource-rich countries are among the world’s poorest, a phenomenon sometimes explained by the concept of the ‘resource curse’, coined by Auty (1993) to describe the observed phenomenon that the economies of resource and extraction rich small countries grew less than those of resource-poor small countries. This is argued to be especially true for countries who depend on export of one or few raw materials, especially in the case of minerals or oil (Acosta, 2013). While the export of raw materials/natural resources can lead to increased national income, for example through increased tax revenue, it is not widely associated with development either for local communities or countries as a whole in the long term. This may be due to the economic benefits being held up in one place (e.g. the capital city) and/or in few hands (Acosta, 2013; Ballard and Banks, 2003; Gudynas, 2013b). Furthermore, the large scale multinational companies conducting mineral extraction often pay relatively little tax for their endeavours (Acosta, 2013; Lust, 2014). While the ‘resource curse’ remains a debated term and theory (Brunnschweiler and Bulte, 2008), Arellano-Yanguas (2011) argues it is observed:

“...especially in countries with previously fragile political institutions [i.e., such as Peru, which he explores specifically], to generate both unexpectedly low rates of economic growth and a series of adverse effects on governance, including authoritarianism, militarisation, regional secessionism, and socioeconomic inequality. These outcomes are probable, not guaranteed.” (p.617)

Some of the explanations that have been offered for this ‘curse’ are economic distortion as a result of the export boom; neglect of other economic sectors; political

mismanagement; weak governance and corruption; and a decline of accountability and transparency of governments (Acosta, 2013; Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Ballard and Banks, 2003; Holden and Jacobson, 2007; Mehlum et al., 2006; Ross, 1999). Furthermore, not all state involvement in mining is legal – bribing occurs, and concessions may be given without everything being in order (Bebbington et al., 2013; Muradian et al., 2003). The Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA), which is meant to outline the environmental and related social consequences of mining projects, and what will be done to alleviate them, may be rushed, opaque, incomplete and one-sided; often drafted with the aid of the mining companies, or viewed as a simple formality (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Bebbington et al., 2013; Li, 2009a; Liu et al., 2014; Muradian et al., 2003). Li (2009a) highlights how in the case of the EIA,

“practices of accountability prioritise mining interests, and enable corporations to define the standards of performance that governments will use to establish compliance” (p.219).

She argues this is due to the influence the companies have over the creation of the EIA; as a result, they are able to prioritise and focus on identifying such ‘risks’ as they are able to fix (Li, 2009a). While mining companies have become increasingly aware of the importance of their reputation, this usually results in the setting up of voluntary CSR programmes, while opposing re-examination of mining and environmental laws in the countries they are active in (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Cheshire, 2010; Coumans and Kirsch, 2011; Lust, 2014).

2.4.2 Large-scale mining⁷

Large scale open-pit mining tends to occur in two stages – ‘exploration (for mining)’ and ‘exploitation (through mining)’. During the exploration phase, the area is under concession to the company, that has not started the actual mining process, but is surveying the site, taking samples and mapping the area. In the exploitation phase, the mine is operating and mineral extraction is occurring at the site. Once an open-pit mine is in operation, it generally has a life span of twenty to forty years; depending on the kind of product found at the site and its abundance (Conservation Minnesota et al., 2012; Houghton, 1993). I will now discuss some of the well-documented environmental impacts of large-scale mining and its impacts on local livelihoods in turn.

⁷ Mining is widely understood in three categories: drilling for oil and gas, small scale mining and large-scale mining. It is beyond the scope of this project to discuss small scale mining and drilling for oil and gas.

2.4.2.1 Environmental impacts

World-wide, a lot of research has been devoted to the impacts of large-scale mining on the environment. Open-pit mining in particular is known for the large amount of waste it produces – due in part to the fact that open-pit mining often occurs at sites where soil concentration of the mined mineral is low, leaving a lot of the dug up rock as residual matter (Monjezi et al., 2009). This is dependent on several factors, including: the type of ore(s) mined; the abundance of these ores; the methods used to mine them (e.g. which chemicals are used); and the techniques in place for avoiding environmental damage (Dudka and Adriano, 1997). Dudka and Adriano (1997) identify four main ways in which open-pit mining causes environmental degradation: mine waste, tailing, dump heap leach and mine water (p.594). *Mine waste* may be polluted by chemicals used for metal extraction from the ore (Monjezi et al., 2009). *Tailings* occur during preparation of the ore, and may carry chemicals and other pollutants into sources of water or soil. *Leaching* is the process of separating the metal from the rest of the rock, often done by spraying the dug up ore with a solution of water and chemicals – cyanide or mercury are generally used in gold mining (Dudka and Adriano, 1997; Kitula, 2006). Finally, *Acid mine drainage* is the source of most of the environmental contamination. It occurs when sulphur contained in waste and other residual products of mining – such as the dug up rocks and tailings – comes into contact with oxygenated water (Robb and Robinson, 1995). The water draining away from the mine contains above average levels of heavy metals which get into air, soil or water through erosion or leakage into water sources (Salomons, 1995). Trace metals can build up in the soil and cause it to acidify. This can have a profound effect on the quality of the soil and the ecosystems associated with it; including build up in plants grown for human consumption.

Other documented environmental impacts of open-pit mining include noise pollution, acid rain, deforestation, ground water depletion, altering of rivers and disappearance of upstream lakes, release of dust and gases, and increased risks of earth shocks, which can lead houses to crack or even collapse (Cronjé et al., 2013; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a; Kitula, 2006; Monjezi et al., 2009; Narrei and Osanloo, 2015; Rodriguez, 2013; Sosa and Zwarteveen, 2012). In spite of the relatively short life span of open-pit mines, these changes are likely to be permanent (Houghton, 1993; Johnson and Hallberg, 2005). When mining operations are over, the land will not be suitable for agriculture anymore, and often no formal plan is made to rehabilitate the degraded land. Fringe benefits, such as improved transport options and business and services may

disappear, while relationships within communities and households will likely remain permanently altered (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; Byford, 2002; Simatauw, 2002).

Beyond local damage, mining also contributes to international and global environmental degradation. Mining operations emit a high number of greenhouse gases, contributing to climate change (Gudynas, 2013b; Mudd, 2010; Norgate and Haque, 2010; Norgate et al., 2007). Water pollution may reach international levels, as river systems can be affected. Examples include mercury build up in fish stocks, which has international and potentially global consequences, and water consumption by trees, which is known to cause a build-up of heavy metals in the Brazilian Amazon (Akcil and Koldas, 2006; Moore and Luoma, 1990; Salomons, 1995). Mining disasters similarly may reach international levels: e.g. dam breakages in Brazil in 2015 and 2019, considered environmental disasters (Sullivan and de Freitas Paes, 2019).

Due to pollution, large-scale mining is associated with several diseases. Respiratory and skin diseases are amongst the most well documented direct health impacts of mining pollution, along with elevated levels of lead and mercury in the blood. Prolonged exposure to pollution may lead to development of cancer. Mental health may also be affected (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001; Donohoe, 2008; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a; Moore and Luoma, 1990; RIMM, 2010; Yagenova and Garcia, 2009). The impact on sources of clean and healthy water is often the most cited negative environmental impact of mining by local communities (Bury, 2002; Downing, 2002; Rasch, 2012; Sosa and Zwarteveen, 2012; Urkidi, 2010).

2.4.2.2 Impacts on livelihoods

I will now turn to discuss some of the effects that large-scale mining has been recognised to have for people living in affected areas, focusing on Peru and Cajamarca. Bebbington (2004) argues that while the coming of open-pit mining is not the first time rural livelihoods in Peru are threatened to become more marginalised as a result of globalisation, the arrival of large-scale mining intensifies these issues at a new level. Bury (2004) notes how Cajamarca has long suffered high rates of unemployment and poverty, and rural households are affected by large-scale mining companies owning large areas of land in the region. Pollution, including from increased transportation needs by the mine, is also seen to negatively affect livestock and agricultural fertility (Brain, 2017). Elsewhere, Abah and Alagoa (2010); Glynn and JATAM (2010) note milk and

cheese are among the products vulnerable to mining-related pollution as pollution by trace metals build up in the food chain; as noted earlier, these are vital sources of income for many Cajamarcans (Bury, 2004; Li, 2013).

In Cajamarca, impacts on livelihood strategies are particularly noted in rural areas, where the first changes noted by rural households related to the decreasing quality and quantity of water available to them (Bury, 2002). In Cajamarcan *campesino* communities, people, livestock and crops all suffer the consequences of polluted or diminishing water sources (Li, 2009b); of course, people in surrounding urban areas also note impacts on their water supply (Bebbington et al., 2008). In the Andes, households tend to own plots at different altitudes for different agricultural purposes, or maintain reciprocal relationships with households farming at different altitudes in order to exchange goods. However, open-pit mines tend to be located in the highest agricultural production zone, rendering it useless (Bury, 2005). Farming populations tend to respond with increased multi-activity livelihood strategies and increased (seasonal) migration (Bebbington, 2004). This intensification and diversification of land use at lower altitudes increases the pressure on the available land which may lead to soil degradation (Bury, 2004).

As mentioned, it is not uncommon for complete villages to have to disappear to make room for mining projects (Lust, 2014). Lust (2014) and Sosa and Zwarteveen (2012) note that in Peru, coercion was often used when companies acquired land and water rights from communities. Those that have sold their land to the mining company were often only able to buy smaller, lower quality plots than they initially owned, because the mining company's presence drove up land prices in the area. Owning smaller land plots either leaves families worse off or further intensifies the pressure on their soil (Bury, 2002). Displaced households are likely to be worse off socially as well, as they reported a decrease in their relationships and reciprocity with other households, which were vital to their livelihood (Bury, 2002, 2005). The impact of large-scale mining projects on social capital should not be underestimated, especially since people say they see their cultural and social practices as meaningful parts of their livelihoods (Bebbington, 1999). Bury (2004) in the northern Peruvian Andes, and Hinojosa (2013), in the south, found inter-household relationships were altered by increased mistrust and perceived and real differences between households in compensation and job opportunities provided by mining companies. This leads to conflict and decreased exchange and reciprocity between households. Such loss of social cohesion is certainly a negative impact on rural

Andean communities where inter-household relations and reciprocity have a long tradition, and are vital for many to sustain their livelihoods (Bury, 2004). Bury (2005) also notes that those who have family members working in the mine were best off economically in relation to other households, often successfully diversifying agriculturally as well as buying land in nearby urban areas.

Furthermore, rising land prices may make it impossible to acquire new agricultural plots in the area, leading to migration to urban centres (Bury, 2007; Steel, 2013). Such migration is often culturally and emotionally charged, as it means loss of a traditional way of life (Bebbington et al., 2008; Jenkins, 2014a). Steel (2013) found that people affected by the Yanacocha mine that had moved to Cajamarca city often lived on the poor outskirts of the city, and relied on family members and other connections to people still living in the countryside to maintain their livelihood. Bury (2005) discusses how critics of the mine noted changes in urban areas such as Cajamarca city, claiming the mine's presence changed the atmosphere to that of a mining frontier town, with the associated social and political consequences; though with limited economic growth. Arteaga (2015) states the opening of the mine has been one of the factors in the rapid growth of Cajamarca city, as well as the opening of nightclubs, brothels, and an increase in violence, thereby contributing indirectly to the formation of the *Rondas Urbanas* reacting against this. While proponents of the mine state it has brought economic advancement and diversification across the region (Langdon, 2000), as mentioned previously, Cajamarca is the poorest region of Peru (Andina, 2017), compared to fourth poorest in the 1980s (Franco, 2016).

2.4.2.3 Mining related social movements

In Peru, social movements exist concerning all stages of the mining process: from opposition to a proposed mine under exploration, to voicing discontent with the work of a mine under exploitation, to a call for compensation for damage caused by a mine that is no longer in operation (De Echave, 2005). The first spark for activism often results from a decrease in quantity and quality of available water (Bury, 2002). Mining related social movements, and actors within these social movements, may have different objectives and desired outcomes. Moderate calls from mining related social movements may concern increased transparency, work, compensation and investment in the affected region, especially after the mine has already opened (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Li, 2009b). Protests trying to halt the coming of a mine outright, such as in the case of

Conga, are more likely to occur where local people feel they do not need the mine, because there are alternatives at their disposal and/or their livelihood strategies are sufficient – especially when it is these livelihoods that are under threat. In the Andes, the intensity and demands of protests thus have a geographic dimension, as people living in lower lying mountain regions – such as Cajamarca – are less likely to rely on mining as a source of income (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011). Li (2009b) highlights how people's relationship with an existing mine can be complicated, sometimes involving opposition, other times negotiation. Some resist mining on the grounds that they perceive it to be part of a neoliberal power structure (Aguinaga et al., 2013; De Echave, 2005). Increasingly, social movements and individual activists around the world may be linked and work together through the internet, potentially jumping right from the local level to the international one (Jenkins, 2014a; Stahler-Sholk et al., 2007). The use of the internet may be particularly helpful to women, as it allows for flexibility and less hierarchical ways of communication (Laurie et al., 1999). Other activists work together to create networks with the help of NGOs (Jenkins, 2014a; Martinez-Alier, 2014; Stahler-Sholk et al., 2007). Cheshire (2010) suggests that the increased international attention and involvement of NGOs has led to a slight redistribution of the power imbalance between companies and local communities, improving their position and bargaining power. However, the criminalisation of social movements in some parts of Latin America leads some authors to predict a bleak future for democracy across the continent; Svampa (2013) links the extractivist model in particular to enduring and worsening abuse, and the ignoring of human and environmental rights. In the next chapter, I will look in more detail at theories associated with social movements in Latin America.

2.5 Women and mining

A lot of the studies cited in the previous section on livelihoods, focus on mining's impacts on daily lives of people in Peru. These studies mostly lack a focus in gender. In light of how, different roles and responsibilities are assigned to women and men in Andean culture, as set out in section 2.2.2, we should expect the mine's impacts in Cajamarca to be gendered as well. Brain (2017) and Bebbington (2015) note a lack of research on gendered responses to extractivism in the Andes, as well as on the role of women as leaders in social movements, gendered violence as related to extractivism and its gendered effect on perceptions of places and safety, and the intra-community and intra-household differential impacts of mining activities. This section is dedicated to the noted gendered impacts of open-pit mining on the lives of women, using examples from

communities worldwide, and drawing, where possible, on examples from Peru and Cajamarca.

It is important to recognise and analyse the gendered impacts of mining, while considering the following: firstly, that not all women will be impacted in the same way, and not all will suffer the same (or any) consequences. Women that are already in a socially disadvantaged position (e.g. poorer women, older women, women with disabilities and ethnically different women) are likely to suffer more negative impacts than women in a more privileged social position; i.e., there is a need for thinking intersectionally. Similarly, due to overlapping positionalities, *some* women will suffer fewer consequences than *some* men. Yet, women, due to their generally socially disadvantaged position as a group, are likely to suffer more negative impacts on average than men as a group. Second, in spite of the many negative impacts mining can have on communities in general and women in particular, it is important to stay wary of the tendency to view or frame women solely as victims of (large scale) mining (Lahiri-Dutt (2012); Mahy (2011)).

In her article on feminist critiques of mining, Lahiri-Dutt (2012) states that the impacts of mining on women fall roughly into three categories: women's work and traditional roles, gender inequalities in the economic benefits from mining activities, and health and well-being (p.199). These impacts, she argues, occur both in wealthier and poorer countries. Many of the problems that follow are aggravated by weak or oppressive state presence in the affected areas, which offer little support or opportunities for those whose livelihoods are affected by mining (e.g. Bhanumathi (2002); Carino (2002)). Below, I will follow the categorisation by Lahiri-Dutt (2012) to exploring the gendered impacts of mining, noting that these categories are very much interrelated.

2.5.1 Women's work and traditional roles

As mentioned before, women in (Peruvian) Andean areas are generally responsible for taking care of crops and livestock, providing food for their families as well as care work inside the home, including cooking, cleaning, looking after children and taking care of any sick family members (Forstner, 2013; Katz, 2003; Paulson, 2003; Steps Without Border, 2010). Since women's responsibilities are so closely associated with feeding their household, they are likely to be the first to be affected when a large-scale mining project affects the quality and quantity of water and agricultural products. Studies from

Asia and Africa have shown how mining may cause access to communal land to be lost, which is often mainly used by women for gathering water, medicinal plants, hunting and firewood collection (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a). As mining is also a cause of deforestation, women in the global South who rely on forest products (such as fruit, mushrooms or roots) to supplement their families' diets are often left without these resources. A rise in diseases associated with large-scale mining will result in a higher pressure on women to care for sick household members and gather medicinal plants (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; Bhanumathi, 2002; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a; Kitula, 2006). Having to work harder and travel further to obtain clean water, medicinal plants, firewood and non-polluted food for their families puts pressure on women and their available time (Jenkins, 2014b; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a; Simatauw, 2002).

When households lose their lands due to mining activities, they often receive either financial compensation or new land. As mentioned previously, the money received is often not sufficient to obtain land of similar quality, and similarly newly assigned plots are generally of a lower quality than the lost plots of land (Ballard and Banks, 2003). Furthermore, usually no compensation or alternative for lost communal land is offered, further aggravating women's problems in their role as subsistence farmers, forcing them to work harder for potentially lower quantities and quality of food (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Jenkins, 2014b; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-b). It has long been recognised in development theories that when 'the system is shocked', i.e. in times of crises, changes or difficulties, dependency on women's unpaid labour increases, as they take care of and/or try to compensate for dwindling resources. Often, women may be simultaneously expected to boost their paid labour to heighten the household's viability, further increasing their burdens. This is why time constraints are widely recognised as gendered and associated with women's many responsibilities across the literature (Conger Lind, 1992; Forstner, 2013; Hill and Newell, 2009; Razavi and Miller, 1995). Relocation due to mining may also imply a higher demand on women's time, as they may be located further from the necessary natural resources. Additionally, this may increase their health and safety risks. This has been documented in Asia and Africa (Carino, 2002; Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a). Population growth due to mining related migration may further increase demand for dwindling natural resources, which may have a gendered impact (Eftimie et al., 2009).

Furthermore, studies from Asia and Africa have shown how in places where strict gender norms, expectations, responsibilities and duties are enforced, and where a cash based economy is relatively new and mainly introduced by the advent of mining, women's social position may become devalued and marginalised within communities. This is due in part to the strong association of mining with masculinities. When families are displaced, this may often lead to a break in the social bonds, and a diminishing of cultural values (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; Hargreaves and Hamilton, undated-b; Macintyre, 2011). The pressure to hold families and communities together and reproduce cultural values may be perceived as another form of increased burdens on women as a result of mining; especially where their traditional power gets overridden by the influx of cash into communities, mainly available to men (Byford, 2002).

2.5.2 Gender inequalities in the economic benefits from mining

This type of gendered impact of mining can be roughly described as the lack of opportunities for women to access mining related monetary benefits; either in the form of employment or monetary compensation, while similarly often losing the ability to pursue their livelihood strategies in the way they were used to (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012).

Both in Latin America and elsewhere, any available jobs in the mine are more likely to go to men (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Brain, 2017). Perhaps this is not surprising given the masculinised view of 'the miner' (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012; Mercier and Gier, 2007), that persists around the world; furthermore, there is a specific a pan-Andean history of women being considered 'bad luck' if they went into underground mines (Mercier and Gier, 2007). In instances from both the global North and the global South, women who did find work in the mine reported high pressure, discrimination and sexism at work and high time demands due to their domestic responsibilities (Eftimie et al., 2009; Macintyre, 2011; Parmenter, 2011).

In a case in northern Peru where local men were able to find jobs at the mine, they were paid little compared to foreign, skilled labourers. Community members were involved in a conflict with the mining company, and taking a job there stirred up family conflict. Workers reported only working for the mine due to the lack of available jobs in the Andean highlands. The company did not employ local women, possibly because they deemed the work unsuitable, reflecting Andean ideas that labour is for men (Brain, 2017; Coxshall, 2010; De la Cadena, 1992). This reflects worldwide patterns where women are

overlooked as potential labourers by mining companies. With few other income generating activities available in the Andean highlands for women, Coxshall (2010) speculates women might turn to informal sector work, such as prostitution, as an alternative.

Another issue raised across the literature on Asia, Canada, Oceania and Africa, is the absence of women from mining negotiations. When indigenous and/or local populations are consulted, often too little attention is paid to women's representation, and in some cases they may be absent completely; including in sites where they are present in anti-mining activism. This means they miss out on the opportunity to make their voices heard and have their needs acknowledged (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; Hill and Newell, 2009; Macintyre, 2011; O'Faircheallaigh, 2011);. Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt (2006) argue that the exclusion of women from negotiations directly affected the devaluation of their perceived cultural roles, while Eftimie et al. (2009) emphasise that assuming men will argue for their wives' rights and interests excludes unmarried and widowed women⁸. This is reflected in the finding that community development projects proposed by men are far more likely to be accepted than those proposed by women (Ward et al., 2011). It should be noted however that meetings may be merely a formality, and the power relations between large mining companies and local men are also very uneven (Kalluri and Seema Mundoli, 2010).

It is acknowledged across the literature that economic compensation and benefits for land and/or lost opportunities are more likely to be given to men, perceived as the 'head of the household' (Bebbington et al., 2013; Macdonald, 2002; Simatauw, 2002). In many cases, financial compensation and royalties have gone exclusively to male community members, with no further distribution to women (Bhanumathi, 2002; Byford, 2002). Of course when women are absent from consultation opportunities, their needs are easier to overlook, but additional problems stem from the fact that women are rarely legal owners of land (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006; RIMM, 2010). This may also increase inequality, women's economic dependency on men, and change existing gender relations (Hill and Newell, 2009; Lozeva and Marinova, 2010). While not much is known on cases from Peru in particular, some scholars similarly note women's absence from negotiations, or them being made to feel as if they were not important and their opinions were dismissed: a result of gendered power relations (Li, 2009b; Rondón, 2009).

⁸ It is worth noting we should not assume married women's concerns and opinions will be represented by the presence of their husbands at such meetings.

2.5.3 Health and Well-being

Exposure to increased levels of pollution puts women at an increased risk of disease. Their exposure to dangerous toxins and associated health risks may be higher than that of their family members due to their intensive daily interaction with land, water and crops (Kachika and Hargreaves, undated-a). Pregnant women in particular may be vulnerable, as ingestion of methylmercury traces in water can be harmful to foetuses. Increased rate of miscarriages and birth defects were documented in mining affected communities in Costa Rica and India, amongst others (Hinton et al., 2003; Isla, 2002; Seema Mundoli, 2011).

Ballard and Banks (2003) note that increased influxes of cash due to mining activity lead to social changes in communities. As discussed previously, men are more likely to have access to these new sources of monetary income. In several societies in the global South, such as in Andean and Southeast Asian cultures, women manage the household budget as they are considered more trustworthy (Forstner, 2013; Kalluri and Seema Mundoli, 2013). However, when larger sums of money become available to men, and people become increasingly exposed to economic changes in society, such values may change. Increases in men's consumption of alcohol, gambling, cigarettes and prostitution are well documented in mining communities where cash economies are rapidly overtaking subsistence farming practices, as is a rise in domestic and sexual violence and changes in sexual attitudes. This in turn is documented to lead to an increase in cases of prostitution, debt, teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and divorce (Bhanumathi, 2002; Bury, 2002; Byford, 2002; Carino, 2002; Laureyns, 2014). However, women's increased dependency on the income of their husbands means in some cases they become less able to leave them. Women in mining areas that are seen as transgressing traditional gender roles run an increased risk of domestic and/or sexual violence and harassment (Bhanumathi, 2002; Byford, 2002; Kalluri and Seema Mundoli, 2010; Macdonald, 2002; Seema Mundoli, 2011; Simatauw, 2002). These effects may be felt even more profoundly in post-conflict areas and countries, where violence against women may already be normalised to some extent (Jenkins, 2014b).

Mental health is another issue: increasing workloads, a rise in diseases, potentially increased instances of domestic violence, loss of land and increased poverty are tremendous stress factors, and weakness and depression has been documented in women whose lives were affected by large-scale mining (Seema Mundoli, 2011). Beyond

the loss of land as a source of subsistence and income, for many indigenous and rural populations this means loss of a connection to their ancestry and traditional way of life, which may also be a mental stress factor (Cronjé et al., 2013; Jenkins, 2014b; Macdonald, 2002). Unfortunately, the mental health aspect of the mining impacts remain relatively under researched.

Loss of land due to large-scale mining activities may have gendered effects as households become more reliant upon migrant labour, and/or the service sector (Simatauw, 2002). RIMM (2010) notes that all over the world, women affected by mining decide to migrate to urban centres or internationally, to pursue other livelihood strategies. Sometimes, women and children may face several displacements when they cannot find suitable new places to live, and often end up living in worse living conditions than before they were displaced by mining activity; which may negatively affect their physical and mental health (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt, 2006).

In regions where mining leads to social conflict and clashes between local communities and mining companies and/or governments, women and men risk criminalisation and increased military presence in their areas (Hargreaves and Hamilton, undated-a; Olarte, 2014; Svampa, 2013; Terwindt, 2014). This may affect women in particular, as they are often seen as transgressing gender roles when they partake in activism and demonstrate acts of resistance, which may trigger hostile responses informed by *machismo* (Brain, 2017; Rondón, 2009).

2.6 Conclusion

Ballard and Banks (2003) and Cheshire (2010) note how, in academic writing, the (large scale) mining company is frequently depicted as greedy, self-interested and lurking in the background of local community life, rather than placed central in research. While their arguments are linked to the need for more analysis on the practices of the mines; I argue that, similarly, little attention has been paid to how people in local communities themselves frame the mine as a specific actor, introducing change to their region, landscape and lives not just through passive presence, but through agency and intent. Considering the particular impacts mining has on the lives of women, in this thesis, I will discuss how women living in the mining affected region of Cajamarca understand and articulate their view of the Yanacocha mine, as this understanding is central to their relationship to it and with it. To this aim, this chapter has highlighted various cultural,

historical and environmental contexts that have an influence on the lives of women in Cajamarca, giving a broad outline of things and events to consider when discussing how they feel impacted by the coming of mining to their region. In the next chapter, I will highlight the key themes and theories that I have used to analyse my data. Together, then, Chapters 2 and 3 situate my work, and the accounts of the women in Cajamarca, within the wider discussions on the effects of extractivism on daily lives, social norms, and relationships with place and landscape.

3. Key theories and themes for situating the mine in place

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical framework I have used to analyse how the women of Cajamarca interpret the mine. I do so by focusing first on some of the main theories on difficulties and struggles of modernity and development in Latin America in general, and the Andean region in particular, in section 3.2. In section 3.3, I discuss the notions of place-attachment, landscape, belonging, and ‘in/outsiderness’; core concepts needed to understand the extent of the mine’s impacts on the women’s lives. Furthermore, in this section I discuss Andean – and particularly Cajamarcan – notions of connections between the human and the other-than-human world, challenging the western notion of a ‘humanity/nature’ divide. In section 3.4, then, I focus on social movements in Latin America, and theories relating to peasant, socio-environmental and women’s movements that, of course, overlap and intersect to a large degree.

3.2 Modernisation and alternatives

In this section, I will first discuss how the concept of modernisation is interpreted and problematised in the Latin American context, before exploring some of the underlying theories of Latin American alternative views of development.

3.2.1 Modernisation

As previously noted, Latin America has a long and complicated relationship with ‘western influences’ in general, and ‘modernisation’ in particular. The fluid associations of race and class in place, along the urban-rural and coast-mountain-jungle divides as set out in chapter 2, make it impossible for ‘modernity’ and ‘modernisation’ to be neutral in the Andean context (De la Cadena, 2008; Starn, 1991). Peru has a complicated history with who can be perceived as ‘modern’, or as ‘having modernised’, which goes a step further to explaining the complex associations and feelings people have relating to the concept of modernity and anything associated with it. As De la Cadena (2010) explains, the rural inhabitants of the Peruvian highlands were never framed as ‘the complete other’, and therefore: “*indigeneity has always been part of modernity and also **different**, therefore never modernist*” (p.348). Similarly, Starn (1991) notes the *campesinos* of Cajamarca

have always been connected to the people and cultures considered 'modern', and while some of their customs have been lost as a result, others have persisted or get adapted. He therefore argues that their way of life in can be construed as an 'alternative modernity'.

Escobar (2007) describes some of the key notions of modernity as:

"...characterised by certain institutions, particularly the nation state, and by some basic features, such as self-reflexivity [...] the disembedding of social life from local context and its increasing determination by translocal forces; and space/time distantiating, or the separation of space and place [...] the increasing rationalisation of the life-world, accompanied by universalisation and individuation. [...] Order and reason are seen as the foundation for equality and freedom, and enabled by the language of rights. Philosophically, one may see modernity in terms of the emergence of the notion of 'Man' as the foundation for all knowledge and order of the world, separate from the natural and the divine" (p.182)

The nation state becomes a main actor; relationships get deluded over larges scales, and the notion of 'humanity' as separate from 'nature' becomes a common-place mode of thought, that is assumed universal. Larrain (2000) argues this causes a rift between humanity and nature by placing humanity at the centre of the world, disallowing the two concepts the possibility of overlapping. Escobar (2007) argues the environmental struggle is central to modernity; emerging from this humanity/nature divide, and the domination of one over the other. He notes that less commonly acknowledged is how nature considered 'the other' is this equation (versus the civilised, i.e., man). Putting it into a box, as something to be used and manipulated by man, for man, has pushed aside other modes of being, where the humanity-nature divide was not implicitly assumed (Escobar, 2007).

Larrain (2000) further speaks about the 'emergence of modernity' as follows:

"...associated with an experience of mobility and social change, with a sense of dynamism; it expresses and overwhelming sense of ephemerality, fragmentation, contingency and chaotic change. Modernity not only breaks abruptly with the past but is also characterised by a permanent process of internal ruptures and fragmentation." (p.16)

The coming of the mine to Cajamarca could be seen as a prime example of this, where such processes occur over a very short period of time. There is a link to be made here

with Pfaffenberger (1988)'s discussion on technology, where he highlights how it is often taken as '*a given*' (p.236), something that in and by itself is not an area of interest. He notes a link between the general and academic perception of technology as "*the sum total of man's 'rational' and 'efficacious' ways of enhancing "control over nature"*" (p.237), in line with the Christian tradition of thinking of "*human domination of the natural world*" (p.237); again invoking the humanity-nature divide. In this view, technology is understood as a neutral force, necessary to achieve equally taken for granted aims. Pfaffenberger (1988) argues that technology instead should be viewed as a social construct, with place-dependent meanings. As it becomes embedded in everyday life, it goes from being 'technical' to being 'social', as how a technology will be understood and work will vary with particular societies or cultural contexts. Recall, for example, the reservoirs proposed by *Minera Yanacocha* to replace the lakes that would disappear to allow for the opening of the Conga mine. They argued these reservoirs could provide people with access to more water than they currently had, and therefore, that communities' concerns over water were unfounded. Their narrative, then, is of improving upon nature with technology. Yet, as Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) argue, in doing so the company disregards the other functions water is known and understood to have by the local population; as well as interrupting their understanding of the interconnectedness of water bodies. Furthermore, local people argue the lakes were created by God/nature and therefore, the engineers are trying to improve upon a divine creation and natural protocols, leading to a disruption of human-natural and natural-natural connections (Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017).

3.2.2 Through Development or separate from Development: a short overview

Lander (2013) highlights how mining conflicts can be used to ask further questions about the nature of global power distribution, capitalism and neoliberalism. For some, the questions of extractivism are best addressed within the current system; others call for a more thorough paradigm shift. Much of modern day development theory is based on economic, western-centric philosophies and worldviews, popularised after the Second World War. This is the type of development that Hart (2001) defines as deliberate 'big D' 'Development': "*a post-second world war project of intervention in the 'third world' that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war*" (p.650); versus 'little d' development: "*the development of capitalism as a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes*" (p.650). This definition of Development is

clearly present in the Peruvian government's pursuit of extractivism as a way to economic improvement of the country (Bury, 2005; Himley, 2014; Lust, 2014; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014). By contrast, the social movements opposing extractivism often adopt, and react from different philosophies and worldviews (Aguinaga et al., 2013; Escobar, 1995; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992). Considering Development's traditional foundation in western philosophies and modernisation theories, then, the question arises whether thinking inside this system is the right way to approach the struggles associated with extractivism.

As Esteva et al. (2013) note, thinking within the traditional development framework has led to a narrow understanding of what the future can, and should, entail by setting out a pre-determined path considered appropriate for everyone. Post-development scholars challenge this pre-determined path toward economic growth and progress as intrinsically linked to colonialism, the imposition of western ideas of modernity and a continuation of current global power systems (Bakker, 2007; Gudynas, 2013a; Lang, 2013; Walsh, 2010). Escobar's post-structural and post-development critiques (1992b, 1995, 2004, 2010) are among the most influential writing on alternatives to development from Latin America and the global South. Escobar (1995) sees Development as an imposition by the global North on the global South, reducing the latter to places that are 'backward' and need to follow a pre-determined set of steps to reach a mode of 'development' similar to that of countries in the global North. In his works, he aims to demonstrate that Development paradigms are used as domination mechanisms through their continued focus on the dichotomy of 'developed' versus 'underdeveloped', while ignoring local realities and practices. Similar critiques of development are voiced by Parpart (1993), arguing development thinking is post-colonial in nature, and rejecting the dominant idea that institutions from the global North hold the answers to the problems of the global South. She sees this as 'othering' the peoples of the global South, while placing economic and social modernity of the global North outside of the realm of questioning. For similar reasons, scholars from Latin America criticise a development discourse that embraces extractivism (e.g. Acosta (2013); Lust (2014); Vega (2013); Veltmeyer and Petras (2014)).

Post-development thinking calls to re-envision the current era of globalisation and the ongoing striving for economic growth and modernisation. It asks for an inclusive, participatory form of 'development', based on local culture and economies; growth as a

means to an end, rather than an end in itself; respect for the integrity of the natural environment; and a rethinking the relationship between humans and nature (Svampa, 2013; Villalba, 2013). It entails a re-evaluation of theories of Development that come from westernised knowledge, advocating a power shift between countries in the global North and South, highlighting the importance of local knowledge and practices (Lind, 2003; Misoczky, 2011). Escobar (1995) sees defense of local pluralities and opposition to development and modernisation as the main features of alternatives to development; drawing heavily on narratives of indigenous and peasant resistance. From a feminist perspective, post-development thinkers question how traditional ideas of development may reinforce asymmetries between women. They emphasise that the needs and voices of women from the global South should be central, and feminists from the global North should be wary of imposing their priorities on women from the global South (Aguinaga et al., 2013; Parpart, 1993).

3.2.2.1 *Buen Vivir*

Escobar (2007) argues for putting schools of thought from Latin America central when imagining regionally-appropriate alternatives for development. Larrain (2000) highlights that a clear vision for a trans-Andean future according to local cultures and modes of being has yet to be constructed, even though there are movements that point to an Inca past and their forms of organisation (further explored by Galindo (2010); Himley (2014)). Others, he explains, sometimes referred to as ‘magical socialism’, talk about a form of modernity that mixes the good of both worlds – values of reciprocity, solidarity and a critique of capitalism as found in Andean cultures, mixed with western values such as freedom and gender equality (Larrain, 2000).

Currently, the most prominent example of ‘alternative to development’ thinking from Latin America is *Buen Vivir*. The concept can be translated to ‘living well’; however, this translation does not encompass the deeper meanings embedded in the term. Many indigenous cultures across Latin America have no concept for ‘development’ as it is understood in the global North, but do have concepts related to locally appropriate *Buen Vivir*. While they differ, they all advocate an understanding of an ‘ideal life’ (Bidegain Ponte, 2014; Prada, 2013; Villalba, 2013). *Buen Vivir* focusses on quality of life in a way that includes well-being in terms of emotions and beliefs (Gudynas, 2013b; Walsh, 2010). Community life is understood to be dependent upon reciprocity, complementarity and solidarity; well-being is therefore communal (Prada, 2013; Thomson, 2011; Walsh, 2010). Community well-being is usually understood to encompass nature; therefore, the

theory of *Buen Vivir* is based on “*well-being and cohabitation with others and nature*” (Gudynas, 2011, p. 441). Feminist *Buen Vivir* thinkers may add patriarchal oppression as an axis of local power relations to be challenged by the paradigm (Vega, 2013). While critics frame *Buen Vivir* as an attempt to return to a ‘mystical indigenous past’ with little room for practical applications, Gudynas (2011) argues it should not be understood as a return to traditional values, but rather as a continuation of Andean and indigenous knowledge that is fluid and innovating, and offers an alternative to Western-centred development thinking.

In Peru, *Buen Vivir* does not have the popularity it enjoys in neighbouring countries of Bolivia and Ecuador, where it is recognised in the constitution. Yet, the importance of community and human-nature relationships are common in Peruvian social movements as well, and Svampa (2013) highlights how the socio-environmental movements of Cajamarca invoke a similar vocabulary as that of *Buen Vivir* movements in other countries, without using the term itself. For example, groups such as the *Rondas Campesinas* lobby for a new constitution that emphasises the plurinational state and environmental rights (Confederación Nacional Agraria, 2018). In this context, it is pertinent to consider an academic debate on how Peruvian women whose lives are affected by mining, envisage and imagine potential futures. In this thesis, I will set out to further explore how women use thinking about the mine as a way to ask questions about development in general, and alternatives to mainstream development in particular.

3.3 Negotiating landscape and place

In this section, I first outline some of the key concepts used to analyse women’s conceptualisations of the mine; landscape, belonging, and in- and outsiders, especially as relating to place. Next, I outline how relationships in place are conceptualised in the Andean context: exploring the notion of ‘human’ versus ‘other-than-human’ relationships, that is, those beings and entities that also inhabit the landscape.

3.3.1 Exploring and relating key concepts

Thwaites and Simkins (2007) highlight how a sense of ownership over public space is often felt by people who repeatedly experience it; i.e., through living a daily life and experiencing ordinary and extraordinary events against a certain backdrop. This is part of what Scannell and Gifford (2010) describe as ‘place-attachment’: “*the bonding that*

occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments" (p.1)/ *"places"* (p.2).

Other definitions of place-attachment include:

"primarily [...] affective, but also cognitive and behavioral, bonds between individuals or groups and one or several places [...] often present or former "home" places" (Gustafson, 2001, p. 668)

"emotional, symbolic and affective dimensions of people's thinking and feeling for places" (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013, p. 161)

This emotional connection to places, formed through repeatedly experiencing them, often translates to the feeling of 'belonging' in the place (Gustafson, 2001; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Thwaites and Simkins, 2007). The past, through memories, lived experiences and the emotions and meanings attached to these, then, comes forward as a vital resource in people's connections to place and their sense of belonging.

This sense of belonging in a place, often articulated through personal linkages to particular (often unique) attributes of the physical environment, can lead to the formation of what Scannell and Gifford (2010) refer to as 'place-identity', formed when an individual draws a connection between themselves and their physical environment to describe who they are. Nelson and Hiemstra (2008) discuss how belonging involves a desire for attachment *"be it to other people, places, or modes of being"* (p.332). It follows, then, that feelings of place-attachment are often communal. Communal place-attachment is formed in the interactions that take place between those that live there. Scannell and Gifford (2010) highlight how this can be related to the symbolic interpretations of the place that members share; e.g. relating to cultural practices, values, symbols and historical experiences. The place, then, Scannell and Gifford (2010) argue, also comes to represent the social group, which makes it feel distinct and special; and lead to distinct physical features being used by groups in their self-definitions. Scannell and Gifford (2010) note the practical uses for place-attachment include *"survival and security, goal support and self-regulation, continuity"* (5-6). They note the concept self-continuity, and how the place 'fits' with the self as one moves from past to future, and argue that place is a vital source of this continuity of the self (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

3.3.1.1 Linking Place, landscape and belonging

Particular aspects of place-attachment and place-identity come forward in associations with the landscape. Häkli (1999) describes landscape's crucial role in: *"producing the symbolic fabric linking the self-understanding of a people with a particular territory,*

concrete places, everyday practices and imagination." (p.5). He defines the concept of 'landscape' as follows:

"a socially constructed relation to the natural and cultural environment -- a way of seeing, experiencing, and interpreting things and events irreducible to their objective qualities. Nevertheless, 'landscape' also has a more substantive nature as perception and interpretation, which make up a landscape, always take place in some material and cultural context." (Häkli, 1999, pp. 1-2)

Dorrian and Rose (2003) describe how landscape is: *"performed in a process of flows, where combinations of memory, action and meaning are complex and performed together"* (p.254, in Rishbeth and Powell (2013, p. 162)), whereas Trudeau (2006) describes landscapes as: *"particular constellations of meaning, aesthetics, values and social prescriptions that become naturalised."* (p.421). Like 'place', then, landscapes are about more than their physical attributes: through the meanings given to them, they are visual reminders of the past, including of people, places, and cultural values; not just through nostalgia, but in on-going processes (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013, p. 162). Immersion into landscape, its associated familiarity, its representation in accumulated memories, as well as active engagement with it, are the crucial factors linking people's memories and connections to the landscape, ultimately making it understood as a physical link to the past. Altogether, this links a sense of belonging in a place to its landscape (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). Schein (2009) also highlights this performative connection between landscape and belonging, discussing how stories shape understanding of, and connection to, landscape and place. Critically, understanding of the landscape is formed through the relationships with the physical place and its inhabitants, nature, and the practice of the everyday lived within it (Mee and Wright, 2009). Trudeau (2006) also argues landscapes are central to processes of meaning giving, belonging and boundaries, yet the link between landscape and belonging is relatively underexplored in literature. He says this is an oversight, because:

"landscapes become spatially bounded scenes that visually communicate what belongs and what does not. [...] landscapes are, in part, constructed through a territorialised politics of belonging." (p.421)

Through belonging to place, history and landscape, a group of insiders can be articulated (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Politics of belonging then have a dimension of in- and exclusion (Mee and Wright, 2009; Stratford, 2009; Trudeau, 2006). Not belonging can be exhibited through different behaviours, indicating a group or individual is 'out of place' (Schein, 2009). Dunn (2001) discusses how the 'us' and 'them' groups are created

through narratives and storytelling, in which the delineation of the community members is captured, and thereby, who is an 'other', and why, becomes defined. This commonly agreed upon (often implicit) collective identity often forms the basis of social movements (Stephen, 1997). Like belonging, not-belonging has a place and landscape dimension. Gallaher (1997), for example, discusses the importance of physical boundaries in articulating in- and outsider groups. Trudeau (2006) explores this connection between landscape and belonging in more detail, analysing its use as a political tool. He notes how the landscape can be a scene where power relations are present "*through cultural politics and social struggles-that present a particular way of seeing.*" (p.421). He defines a politics of belonging as:

"discourses and practices that establish and maintain discursive and material boundaries that correspond to the imagined geographies of a polity and to the spaces that normatively embody the polity." (p.422)

These can become mobilised when different stakeholders propose different designs on the landscape, as I explore in the next section.

3.3.1.2 Clashing landscape designs

Inherent in landscape is a structured perspective about how land is meant to be used in that place; it is a visual representation of meaning-giving of the community to the land (Nelson and Hiemstra, 2008; Trudeau, 2006). Crucially, then, different actors' imaginations of place, landscape and territory may clash. Constructing the countryside as a '*pure and authentic culture*' (Rowe and Schelling, 1991, p. 97), and opposing it to the city where such ideals come to die, is common in Andean cultures (De la Cadena, 2008; Rowe and Schelling, 1991); relating to the idea of "*an authentic rural culture under threat from industrialisation and the modern culture industry*" (Rowe and Schelling, 1991, p. 2). As opposed to a place of culture, the state and mining companies on the other hand may try to classify these rural landscapes as empty and unproductive (De la Cadena, 2010; Li, 2009a; Tsing, 2000). Tsing (2000), for example, discusses how governments construct imagined landscapes and futures for mining companies: visions of a tabula rasa, an empty space waiting to be filled in. By doing so, the people living in the area are erased, and acts of violence and land grabbing are negated; there is just empty land, waiting to be explored. Similarly, Li (2009a) explores how the EIA gives mining companies the power to conduct a study on local ways of living, and make conclusions about "*extreme poverty, unsustainable agricultural practices, and inefficient*

social organisation" (p.231), again legitimising the construction of the mine. Of course, to people in the area the land holds different meanings; as they play a crucial role in shaping the landscape they live in; landscape is actively practised, and reflective of a way of life. When the mine comes, the company imposes a new design on the land, disrupting vital connections with a long history (Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). The presence of the mine can alter the meaning-giving people have in relation to land, especially where this has always been their source of income and livelihood. The familiar landscape can transform rapidly and beyond recognition, not just literally, but emotionally, as it becomes associated with violence, danger, and the unknown (Brain, 2017; Tsing, 2000). The importance of this is hinted at by Stratford (2009), as he expands upon how 'belonging' plays a central role in place-based politics:

"this understanding of connection to place suggests that, in such contexts, belonging is existential. To threaten 'that which is seen to belong' by creating in its place 'that which is seen not to belong' is, for some, to imperil certain conditions of existence [...] a consequence of this existential status is that belonging is mobilised as a key resource in the local politics of place." (p.797)

Trudeau (2006) discusses how:

"transgressions are moments in which landscapes are (re)constructed in order to fix a particular meaning to a place. Dominant groups also assert orthodoxies to control human behaviour and activities within demarcated spaces." (pp.434)

This, he argues, makes the boundary between 'in' and 'outsider' (which he describes as 'us' and 'them') present in the physical; it is about space, a visual representation of belonging, not just in terms of people, but further reaching into the landscape (Trudeau, 2006). However, unlike in Trudeau (2006)'s case study in the United States, where the insider group was also the most powerful group, the problem for mining affected communities is of course that the power balance is overwhelmingly stacked against them, and so, their ability to impose boundaries is more limited. Cohen (1985) argues that when communities are undergoing change brought about by increased interaction with 'outsiders', that is beyond their control:

"...one often finds in such communities the prospect of change being regarded ominously, as if change inevitably means loss." (pp.109)

This research will give more insight in how landscape and belonging are negotiated in such circumstances. Furthermore, while Scannell and Gifford (2010) explain how

increased academic attention has been given to how globalisation and associated mobility and environmental changes have altered the bonds between people and place, their focus is on instances where the bond is broken through forced relocation. They pay less attention to those who stay in a place after landscape and sense of belonging are disrupted, which is what this study will focus on.

3.3.2 Relationships in the landscape

Mee and Wright (2009) and Stratford (2009) highlight the importance of non-humans and more-than-humans taking part in politics of belonging. Mee and Wright (2009) state:

“Belonging connects matter to place, through various practices of boundary making and inhabitation which signal that a particular collection of objects, animals, plants, germs, people, practices, performances, or ideas is meant ‘to be’ in a place” (p.772)

In this section, I will look at the relationships and meaning giving that is assigned to the relationships between humans and non-humans, and relationships between non-humans that exist in, and belong to, this lived in landscape.

Unlike in the case of large-scale mining, there is a long academic tradition, particularly anthropological, of examining beliefs and customs associated with small-scale mining. This is set out, for example, in the classic work *‘We eat the mines and the mines eat us’* by Nash (1979), where she explores Bolivian indigenous Quechua and Aymara people in Oruru, an area with a long history of mining. Among other things, her ethnography explores the miner’s varying relationships with the being known as *‘Tio’*, a manifestation of the *Apu* of the mountain; negotiated through offerings such as coca leaves and alcohol (also Sallnow (1989); Harris (1989)). The notion of the *‘Apu’* has a rich history across Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, and is understood to be the spirit of the mountain; a member and guardian of the community; and/or related to the local communities’ ancestors (Sarmiento, 2000; Williams and Nash, 2006). Thinking of the mountain *Apu*, then, is not inherently related to mining activity, but rather based on the presence of the mountain in the background of everyday life. In agricultural practices, *Apus* are often understood to be the sources and providers of water, and offerings are made to the mountain *Apu* to ensure a steady supply of water (De la Cadena, 2010; Rowe and Schelling, 1991; Sallnow, 1989; Williams and Nash, 2006). Small-scale mining is considered to disturb the mountain *Apu*, and therefore rituals are needed to ensure safety and supply of ore

(Rowe and Schelling, 1991; Sallnow, 1989). Similar to debates I will explore below, Rowe and Schelling (1991) argue that while these practices continue under capitalist regimes, they are not a part of it: rather, the miners and their practices exist in overlapping worlds.

Unlike the small-scale, underground mine, the large scale mine is a more recent phenomenon in Andean culture, and, again unlike the small-scale mine, one that almost certainly comes from 'outside'. In other words, there is a much shorter history of thought, understanding, and agency ascribed to the large-scale mine, or ideas about how to negotiate local relationships in order to avoid disturbing natural balance. However, as I will outline in the next section, various scholars have described how mountains and water as more-than-neutral actors are invoked by local communities when objecting to large-scale mining projects in Peru in general, and Cajamarca in particular.

3.3.2.1 Earth-beings and politics

To understand the women's conceptualisation of the Yanacocha and Conga mines, this within must be located in wider debates on Andean understandings of the existing relationships between people, nature and landscape; and how the classic 'Western' divide between humanity and nature is just one social construct among many when it comes to considering these relationships. Marisol de la Cadena challenges the humanity/nature divide as self-evident, imposed first by the Christian church, and later by modern politics. Notably, she refers to 'earth-beings' and 'earth-practices', as part of Andean cosmovisions and practices, that have persisted through colonisation and conversion:

"Earth-practices enact the respect and affect necessary to maintain the relational condition between humans and other-than-human beings that makes life in (many parts of) the Andes. Other-than humans include animals, plants, and the landscape. The latter, the most frequently summoned to politics these days, is composed of a constellation of sentient entities known as tirakuna, or earth-beings with individual physiognomies more or less." (De la Cadena, 2010, p. 341)

Andean peoples have a long history of harmonising colonial practice with older, indigenous practices (Wernke, 2007). The cultures' resilience and fluid nature allows them to adapt some and discard other parts of colonising cultures. For example, Rowe and Schelling (1991) discuss how Christian names were often assigned to pre-Christian traditions and ideas, ensuring the survival of much pre-colonial thought and practice. For example, the Virgin Mary is sometimes equated to the *Pachamama*, the Andean Mother

Earth figure. Furthermore, Spanish colonisers often did not manage to erase old place-names, thereby failing to remove Andean cosmological meaning from the landscape and its attributes (Rowe and Schelling, 1991). This reinforces their notion of Andean peoples managing to live in overlapping worlds. De la Cadena (2010) similarly argues that social movements across Latin America are often result not simply from a struggle over natural resources or right to land, but represent a clash in understandings of what makes up communities and landscapes. She describes this as a clash of “*more than one, but less than two, socionatural worlds*” (p.347). As the *campesinos*’ narratives do not fit within traditional political left-right divides, they are often overlooked, misunderstood, or resigned to the field of ‘folklore’ and ‘beliefs’ (De la Cadena, 2010; Rowe and Schelling, 1991). Misunderstandings occur when indigenous peoples and *campesinos* discuss concepts that are not outside of mainstream political understanding, yet are not completely equal to them (De la Cadena, 2015a; Nadasdy, 2005). For example, De la Cadena (2015a) shows how in Andean cosmovisions, entities such as rivers can be killed, rather than simply destroyed or depleted, by contamination, investment, and alteration. This understanding does not get taken into consideration in the state’s political discourse on environmental impacts. Another example is given by Stensrud (2016), who explores the relationship between *campesinos* in southern Peru and ‘other-than-human beings’, including mountains and water vulnerable to the effects of mining and climate change. Similarly to De la Cadena, she talks about overlapping, co-existing and complex relationships and realities, more than one and less than many, where water can exist in multiple coinciding ways:

“measured water, regulated water, contaminated water, drinking and irrigation water, shared water, our water, given or stolen water, threatened and finite water. These are performed as not only perspectives, but multiple realities of water. Furthermore, water can also be a responsive and agentic being.” (Stensrud, 2016, p. 23)

Stensrud (2016) explores how the Peruvian state’s water policies are based solely on water as an asset for the economy, modernity, and its neoliberal mission enacted through companies and private investment. Yet, this singular way of interpreting water is not in line with that of the Andean communities, who see the water as being given to them by the mountains, and thus as belonging to the mountain *Apus* and the particular territories that people live in, rather than to the state. She shows that water is not passive; people must work to make it flow, it comes from practices, as well as enabling them. The water is part of life, as it is a commonality between people, animals, plants and other beings,

which are connected through sharing it. Stensrud (2016) explains that since water can exist in multiple ways simultaneously, people are comfortable measuring and registering water in an attempt to increase their control over water and territory (also Boelens (2014)). Therefore, she argues the state's interpretation of water as an economic resource can overlap with the communities' understanding of it, but diverge in other ways (Stensrud, 2016). Furthermore, water is often associated with 'the feminine' in Andean cosmology, and therefore with women, being a source of life, heavily used in domestic activities, and playing a vital role in reproduction (Li, 2009b; Stensrud, 2016).

In the ever growing landscape of social movements, De la Cadena (2010) argues that earth-beings are demanding a political voice. She speaks about participating in an anti-mining protest in southern Peru with a friend, who spoke of the agency of the mountain Ausangate:

"I thought we shared a single view against the mine; however [...] I realised that our shared view was also more than one. My reason for opposing the mine was that it would destroy the pastures. Nazario agreed with me, but said it would be worse: Ausangate would not allow the mine in Sinakara [...] Ausangate would get mad, could even kill people. To prevent that killing, the mine should not happen. [...] although I could not bring myself to think that Ausangate would kill, I found it impossible to consider it a metaphor. Preventing Ausangate's ire was Nazario's motivation to participate." (pp.338-339)

She also discusses how the mayor of a local municipality argued that the mine should not come for its effects on tourism, as well as to avoid the anger of the mountains. Thereby, she states, earth-beings can already have a political voice. The agency of Ausangate is also explored by Harvey (2010), in relation to increased infrastructure and extraction for concrete:

"According to some, the snows from the mountain are receding in direct proportion to the traffic flows." (p.41)

Thus, local communities may consider a mountain (and/or its *Apu*) to have agency, to be become angry and act upon it; changing relationships and landscape in the process. The fluidity of living in more than one, but less than two, socionatural worlds is gradually gaining academic attention in Cajamarca, as outlined below.

3.3.2.2 *Earth Beings in Cajamarca*

When exploring such modes of analysis here and further on in my work, I heed Cepek (2016)'s words as he urges researchers to be wary of romanticising, or assigning absolute truth to the words and discourses of the people we work with, including in activist contexts. He argues that failure to look at intent, sense of humour and creativity when discussing these topics means we are not doing our participants justice. Various other scholars also show how *campesino* and indigenous activists adapt strategies and vocabulary of the state, NGOs, and companies to suit their benefit (De la Cadena, 2005, 2010; Mendívil, 2016; Nadasdy, 2005). For example, both Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) and Mendívil (2016) discuss how Cajamarcan activists are aware of how they are portrayed in the media, and know how to construct their narratives to make their concerns relatable. Mendívil (2016) analyses how they have adapted a vocabulary of NGOs, scientists and other 'outside' influences to capture an audience. This is their reaction to their relative powerlessness in influencing media narratives, where 'others' have the power to construct an image about them. However, as Li (2009a) argues, this is not an ultimate fix for the problem of different socio-natural languages, or for overcoming power imbalances. Mining company demands scientific evidence to back up community's claims of the mine's impacts. Thereby, they have the power over the language and the definitions used and measured in the conflict, creating an unequal playing field, as local people (and NGOs) do not have money to conduct thorough scientific studies to back up their claims. Meanwhile, their lived experiences are not considered scientific, and thus, discarded (Li, 2009a). Furthermore, in using the companies' and government's language, activists' work and narratives risk being oversimplified. For example, the vocabulary of mount Quilish as a source of water for local communities has led to water being centered in many anti-mining movements since. As a result, mining companies started focusing on water in their technical and management programs, offering solutions to capture more water and increase its utility; in other words, they were able to shift the debate to one on 'management' (Li, 2013).

Similar to Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017), I recognise the fluidity in discourse and practice relating to water and other entities; as well as their collaborative aspect as emerging in relation to, and conflict with, other actors. Furthermore, as I have mentioned previously, Cajamarca and the northern Peruvian Andes differ from the southern Andes region, where the population is often more directly linked to pre-Colombian practices and beliefs that are considered 'lost' in the north (Li, 2013; Starn, 1991). Both De la Cadena

(2015b) and Li (2009b) note that earth-beings are less present in Cajamarcan political and cultural discourse than in communities in the south. De la Cadena (2015b) highlights, for example, how the social movement groups of Cajamarca do not describe water as a 'being' in their activism. Both De la Cadena (2015b) and Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) argue that forms of relating and connecting to water and mountains that transcend the western humanity-nature divide nevertheless exist. Examples of this can be found in Cajamarcan discourses of water and mountains.

3.3.2.2.1 Water

Li (2009b) describes how most people who opposed the coming of the Conga mine were not 'classic environmentalists' looking to preserve a pristine nature, "*but rather, [to preserve] their role in the making of this socio-natural landscape*" (p.101) (described in other contexts by Anguelovski and Martínez-Alier (2014); Martínez-Alier (2014); Nadasdy (2005); Stensrud (2016)). Mendívil (2016), for example, describes how protest songs in Cajamarca foster "*a cultural memory related to water as a fundamental resource for life.*" (p.2); linking the belonging of water and people in place, highlighting them creatively, and invoking history and memory in their argument.

De la Cadena (2015b) describes how the struggle over the lakes of Conga is a struggle over the essence of the water. She argues that the people of the region, their animals, crops and other landscape inhabitants (trees, springs, animals,...) see themselves as connected through, and therefore with, the water from the lakes, to the extent that water from reservoirs has to be conceived as *different water*, lacking this crucial connection to living beings and the wider landscape. An example of this is described in Li (2009b)'s work. She found that in communities close to the proposed Conga mining site, the canals people made for irrigation relate intimately to their knowledge of the landscape; as well as their own presence and part in it. She argues that these canals form a fundamental connection between people, water, plots of agricultural lands, and highland lakes (also Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017)). When the mine started providing the water to the communities' canal, it was treated to meet legal standards for irrigation purposes. However, the community had always used the water in their canals for other purposes as well, including consumption and domestic tasks. Furthermore, communities considered it to 'not be the same' water (p.101). As a result, she argues that companies should not view water as something that can easily be compensated for, but instead recognise that it is part of "*a complex set of relationships between people and the*

landscape – relationships made through affective connections” (Li, 2009b, p. 101). As Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) highlight:

“Campesinos’ designs on the land relate to their concerns about the making of bodies and territories, because they assert that they will die if their land and potato crops are fed with any other water that is not from Conga. These are not simply different representations of water; rather, different types of water make different bodies and territories, suggesting that nature is not singular.” (p.16)

Similarly, they discuss lake Mamacocha, which was patrolled by the Guardians of the Lakes and invoked in the activist narratives surrounding Conga. While this lake is outside of the official designated zone of the Conga mine’s direct influence, the communities interpreted it as vulnerable. Due to their understanding of highland lakes as connected to each other, Mamacocha would be affected if lakes elsewhere would disappear or be polluted. This, Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) suggest, is one of the ways in which the understanding of the Mamacocha lake is part of wider debates on *“multiple worlds and conflicting realities”* (p.303) that people of Andean regions may be understood as living in at once.

3.3.2.2 Mountains

In the case of mount Quilish, which, as mentioned previously, was threatened by a proposed expansion of the Yanacocha mine in 2004, Li (2013) describes that the conflict was unique for how Quilish itself became a central actor in the resulting discussions. While the notion of the mountain as a ‘sacred *Apu*’ caught national and international attention, Li (2013) highlights that this does not resonate directly with local people’s interpretation of it⁹. Yet, the discourse of Quilish led the political discussion to transcend the ‘regular’, with the mountain articulated as a source of water and life; an entity upon which other entities depend – not just biologically, but culturally, for the way of life associated with its surrounding countryside (Li, 2013). She argues then, that defending the mountain was not simply about the mountain: rather, it concerned protecting culture, right to livelihood and consultation. In other words, framing it as a struggle over the mountain alone would ignore the wider factors informing people’s reasons for opposing Yanacocha’s expansion. The struggles over Quilish, then, Li (2013) argues, must be approached holistically, taking all dimensions into account.

Li (2013) emphasises that *Apus* are not as prominent in Cajamarca as they are in other parts of the Andes. However, in the conflict, Quilish was regularly described as sacred, or an *Apu*. This was controversial, and seen by some as forced into the debate. However,

⁹ Resonating discussions elsewhere by Cepek (2016) and De la Cadena (2010).

Li (2013) argues the discussion should not be about whether or not the mountain is 'sacred', but over how this discourse disrupts the modern division of humanity-nature, by demanding another interpretation. Furthermore, she argues, she found ideas and practices relating to Quilish and earth-beings are nevertheless a part of people's lives, and their relationships with the landscape and their heritage, even where it was not their 'everyday lives'. She explains that one of her informants told her, "*the fact that people could not¹⁰ talk about the sun and water being "sacred" did not mean that people did not treat them as such.*" (p. 405). She describes how local people make offerings to Quilish for a good harvest; a way of assigning agency to the mountain. Furthermore, she was told about "*good and evil mountains, creatures that emerge from water springs at night, places one should not venture for fear of losing his or her spirit (ánimo), the dangers of rainbows, ...*" (p.405). Through the ways in which local people merged this knowledge with the language of scientists, their ancestors, NGOs, and religious vocabulary, they attributed agency and will to the mountain; making it emerge as an entity with a part and interest in the process (Li, 2013).

We can see here several things that warrant further academic research. While much is theorised about people's relationships with inhabitants of the landscape, including in the context of small-scale mining, large-scale mining is a relatively new, and literally foreign, phenomenon, in need of a further unpacking in this context. This is especially interesting because unlike small-scale mining, relatively few local people are involved in work for the mine, and so it exists outside the realm of direct interaction, yet crucially affects daily lives. Furthermore, De la Cadena (2015a) briefly touches upon the fact that earth-beings can have meaning to urban dwellers, but this has received very little attention beyond this mention; an understanding is warranted about how modes of thinking about the mine and relationships between human-other-than-human entities exist in urban centres as well. As different actors have different ways of shaping, understanding and imagining the landscape, which in turn shape the actors, there is room for an account of urban-dwellers' reflections on changes to the landscape, as they similarly invoke narratives of their relationships with it, as well as the role the mine plays in it. World-making is ever on-going; be it through creation, disruption or transformation, including in times of conflict; what further remains unexplored in this context is how belonging and notions of in- and outsiders, as connected to the landscape, in times of change and crisis, are articulated in situations where the insider group does not necessarily hold the most power.

¹⁰ Due to their evangelical Christian religious belief.

3.4 Social movements in Latin America

In this section, I will briefly explore the variety of social movements across Latin America in general, focusing on debates related to socio-environmental, peasant, and women's movements in particular.

3.4.1 (New) Social movements in Latin America

Indigenous and peasant social movements Latin America have been around for hundreds of years (Bury, 2002). However, the last 35 years have seen a well-documented rise of social movements across the continent. These may be based on economic, political, environmental, cultural and/or social struggles (Vergara-Camus, 2013). A central theme in many social movements since the 1970s and 1980s has been highlighting a sense of common identity, focusing their activism on a central notion that brings them together (Schild, 1998). This aligns with theories on New Social Movements, which considers collective identities as they are articulated in, and shaped through, political activity (Stephen, 1997). Such theories consider how local identities are shaped by global powers, and politics as “*struggles over [cultural] meanings at the level of daily life*” (Escobar (1992a, p. 71); also Hale (1997)). While initially movements concerning indigenous identities were most prominent, movements of women, *campesinos*, alliances of LGBT* communities, afro-Latin American populations, and youth groups, amongst others, have all become important across the continent (Radcliffe, 1993; Stahler-Sholk et al., 2007; Vergara-Camus, 2013). People may also gather around common beliefs or convictions, such as anti-globalisation, anti-modernisation or anti-capitalist movements (Escobar, 2008; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Hale, 1997; Jelin, 1998; Rubin, 1998). The associated movements, and the conflicts they respond to, range in scope, ideals and longevity. The strengths of social movements based on identities include their plurality, decentralised nature and scope beyond the false dichotomy of the ‘public’ and ‘private’, focusing on everyday life and lived realities. In this way, collective identities are constituted in order to open up new democratic and autonomous spaces, in defence of the local and particular (Escobar, 2008; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Hale, 1997; Jelin, 1998; Rubin, 1998). Access and control over natural resources, food sovereignty and resisting dispossession are important reasons for people to take up activism, for physical as well as social and cultural reasons (Hickey and Bracking, 2005; Svampa, 2013). A call for a plurinational state with a focus on improving social, cultural and environmental rights is common. Furthermore, Latin American social movements often use a vocabulary of human rights, environmental justice, and *Buen Vivir*; partly to

improve and broaden their appeal and allow for linkages and networks to be formed (Svampa, 2013). However, Andolina et al. (2005) point out the risk of co-optation by the state through favouring particular indigenous rights, and indigenous groups, over others. Furthermore, note should be taken of how discourse by national governments may shape its inhabitants sense of citizenship, identity and belonging; along with an understanding of acceptable behaviour, both socially and politically. This understanding should not take away from people's lived realities and struggles; but rather highlight the importance of the wider political context in which these may exist (Himley, 2014; Schild, 1998; Yashar, 1998). Escobar and Alvarez (1992) similarly warn to not take identities as given, but rather as constructed through processes of conflict and negotiation.

Escobar (1992b) associates the rise in social movement with the crises and issues of democracy. He urges not to classify the goals of social movements in terms of 'regular' development goals but to acknowledge their potential push for alternatives to development and politics; a re-evaluation of neoliberal values and capitalist neo-colonialism (Escobar (1992b, 1995); also Aguinaga et al. (2013)). In the context of anti-extractivism movements, Lang (2013) and Veltmeyer and Petras (2014) similarly suggests they are not only resisting dispossession but voicing their discontent with the current world system, urging for alternatives. Social movements have been important contributors to change in Latin America, such as democratisation and transformation at the level of the everyday life to the level of the state (Bebbington and Bury, 2009; Schild, 1998). However, in spite of much of the optimism in social movement theories in the 1980s and 1990s, many people in Latin America today still face undemocratic government procedures and inequality (Svampa, 2013).

3.4.2 Mobilising place and history

Escobar (2007) argues that the fluid understandings of Latin American indigenous and pre-colonial cultures, where people, natural and supernatural being emerge and live together, is central to the emerging socio-environmental movements in Latin America. As mentioned previously, Coxshall (2010) explores how in Peru, due to the negative associations with the word 'indigenous', people in the highlands often prefer to refer to themselves as *campesinos*. She highlights this means that it is not that Peru has no 'indigenous' movements in the highlands, but that equivalent movements exist under a different banner. Svampa (2013) explores how anti-mining movements in Cajamarca are examples of this: these movements, she argues, while not necessarily considering

themselves indigenous, have notions of “*goods, territory, food sovereignty and living well.*” (p. 135) – that share an overlap with indigenous movements at the grassroots.

As I have highlighted before, the *Rondas Campesinas* are front-runners in the anti-mining protests in Cajamarca. Almost thirty years ago, Starn (1991) already placed the emergence of the *Rondas* in a wider context of rural struggles for political participation across Latin America. Symbolised by the two items of clothing most emblematic for the northern Peruvian Andes: ponchos and straw hats, he credits the *Rondas* in particular with bringing a new sense of independent identities to these regions. He considers their successes resulting from a “*politics of the possible*” (p.67), stating they are one of the largest and most durable rural movements in late 20th century Latin America. While Nuñez Palomino (1996) speculates the *Rondas* might be related to the *Mitimae* class in Inca society, responsible for keeping order and peace, Piccoli (2009) states they were inspired by the rounds that hacienda landowners long organised to protect their property. Starn (1991) argues that even if based on this tradition introduced by the colonisers, the present day *Rondas* are a way for northern *campesinos* to (re)make and (re)shape their own, distinct traditions; as Nuñez Palomino (1996) highlights, the *Rondas* aim to give *campesinos* the opportunity to live according to ancestral values such as reciprocity, solidarity, and the practice of *mingas*, a Quechua term roughly translated to ‘collective work’. The *Rondas*, Starn (1991) argues, absorbed the practices of the disliked haciendas and army, into a more democratic and original system, operating under community authority.

Starn (1991) argues that peasant movements had often been overlooked in academic literature on new social movements, due to the relative invisibility of rural politics, and associations with being old-fashioned/traditional class struggles. He argues this stems from most attention going out to highly visible fields, while the struggles of *campesinos* are not usually developed through dramatic revolts and rebellion, but through slow, continuous actions and activities chipping away at notions of authority. By overlooking this, he argues, they also overlook the creativity and modes of thinking and practice that are created in this way (Starn, 1991). He links this in with the notion of everyday resistance, which has become widely recognised; highlighting that social, political and environmental struggles do not only take place through protests out in the open, but simultaneously occur at the local, household and everyday level (Bebbington et al., 2008; Jenkins, 2017; Scott, 1986; van der Ploeg, 2009; Zanotti, 2013). These kinds of

strategies are useful for peasants as the cost of outright protests are often high: facing loss of livelihood opportunities and bloody repression (Starn, 1991), obviously evidenced by the occurrences during the anti-Conga protests. Place is central here; lived in, accessed in daily life, it becomes an important stage of the contestation of globalisation through acts of everyday resistance (Zanotti, 2013). After all, De la Cadena (2008) argues that politics based on place are critically grounded within their particular sets of histories at different scales from the local to the national. It is then common to imagine the future from a site of the everyday, and as well as the past, that is seen as having been lost in the process of 'modernisation' (Cohen, 1985; Larrain, 2000).

As noted, the continuity and attachment to and of place, landscape and belonging are all embedded within history, memory and interpretations of the past (Gustafson, 2001; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Thwaites and Simkins, 2007). Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) and MENDÍVIL (2016) found that, when the campesinos of Cajamarca felt the connections between people, territory and history came under threat by the proposed Conga mine, they activated memories of local connections to place and nature, and re-interpreted old stories to fit the current situation. This recalls Cohen (1985)'s argument of how communities that consider themselves to be under threat might make use of the past in strategic ways:

"the past is being used here as a resource [...] The manner in which the past is invoked is strongly indicative of the kinds of circumstance which makes such a 'past-reference' salient. It is a selective construction of the past which resonates with contemporary influences." (p.99)

Himley (2014) similarly highlights how in a mining-conflict in the central Andes region of Peru, people mobilise certain visions of an idyllic past as part of their activist narratives. Mobilisation of living history as a resource has also been described by Lowenthal (1975), who argues:

"The tangible past is altered mainly to make history conform with memory. Memory not only conserves the past but adjusts re-call to current needs. Instead of remembering exactly what was, we make the past intelligible in the light of present circumstances." (p.27)

Himley (2014) further touches upon how non-living memory may be mobilised by Peruvian communities who feel their connection to place is under threat. In Andean cultures, it is not uncommon for the past to be used as a resource towards imagining an

alternative future; especially relating to the time of the Inca period (Harvey, 2012; Himley, 2014; Larrain, 2000; Rowe and Schelling, 1991; Sarkisyanz, 1993). In his book '*In Search of an Inca*', Galindo (2010) specifically explores how Peruvian-Andean utopian ideas are based on the activation of an idealised memory of the Inca period. He argues *campesinos* use this to shape their identities and ideals for the future, by communicating this time period as the 'opposite' of how they view the present day; thereby, the past becomes an answer to the problems of the present and future. Harvey (2012) similarly describes political struggles as connecting futures with experiences from the past, showing how in this way, in social movements, the future and the past become part of the present. The answer for the future may thus be seen to lie in a pre-Colombian past; rather than in European-based schools of thought, then constructed as conflicting with 'real' Latin American identities (Larrain, 2000).

3.4.3 Women's movements

In recent years, the *Ni una Menos*¹¹ campaign has gained traction across Latin America; in Peru, this movement specifically calls attention to femicide and domestic violence in the country. The 2016 women's march was reported to be the largest march in Peruvian history. (Chinchay and Cortijo, 2016). Yet, women have long been recognised to be at the forefront of many Latin American social movements, including anti-mining movements, even though their efforts are often unrecognised (Mercier and Gier, 2007; Nash, 1979; Rondón, 2009; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993; Zanotti, 2013). These social movements are often based on women's collective socialised identities, including *Campesina* movements (Radcliffe, 1993). Many Latin American feminists and feminist movements see themselves as part of wider resistance movements, operating in solidarity and intersectionality with indigenous, *campesino* and worker resistance while advocating solidarity between women and men (Aguinaga et al., 2013; Frayssinet, 2015). It is worth noting here that not all women's movements in Latin America identify as feminist movements, nor do all women who take part in resistance identify as activists (Bobel, 2007; Radcliffe et al., 2003). Some Latin American women's movements resist what they see as feminists' attempts to construct everything in terms of gender, viewing this as a western imposition; or something that only benefits white, middle class women (Burman, 2011; Corcoran-Nantes, 1993; Radcliffe, 1993; Radcliffe et al., 2003). Furthermore, as Corcoran-Nantes (1993) argues, tying women's movements exclusively to feminism limits the appreciation for the vast array of political work they do. Frayssinet (2015) acknowledges that the label 'feminist' has different meanings to different people

¹¹ 'Not one [woman] fewer'

and advocates not forcing it on anyone. On the other hand, feminist thinking has been around in Latin America for a long time, and many Latin American feminists (as well as feminists from other parts of the global South) reject the notion that feminism is only a movement by (and for) women in the global North, or the middle class (Aguinaga et al., 2013; Parpart, 1993; Stephen, 1997). Andean feminists work to define their particular brand of feminism, often linked to indigenous/rural cosmovisions, knowledge and theories, such as *Buen Vivir* (Aguinaga et al., 2013). Common is a strive for a focus on human over economic needs, the transformation of society through decolonisation, and the rise of a plurinational state, focusing on undoing patriarchal relations and forms of domination. These feminists link women's struggle for equal rights (e.g. to land and education) to visions of alternative economic models and an end to poverty. This line of feminism is sometimes referred to as 'community' or 'popular' feminism (Aguinaga et al., 2013; Bidegain Ponte, 2014; Frayssinet, 2015).

What is often highlighted in particular in relation to women's social movements is the everyday life: the notion that the personal is political, and that in our everyday lives we create and recreate culture with all its implied meaning, power relations and struggles (Conger Lind, 1992; Escobar, 1992a). Women's activism, then, may often be linked to forms of everyday resistance. Women's activism often implies challenging gender roles. Various women's movements aim to alleviate their burdens and to gain strength in numbers, demanding better conditions, social services, improved access to water and recognition of their 'invisible' domestic and subsistence work. Furthermore, they may challenge and resist gender roles and their implicit power relations, and try to make domestic violence and *machismo* discussable (Cabezas, 2014; Conger Lind, 1992; Escobar, 1992a; Frayssinet, 2015; Stephen, 1997).

While on the one hand, women's organisations in Latin America have challenged traditional gender roles, on the other hand, the way that women are portrayed, conceived of and understood in the Andean states; i.e., as bound to the private domain of the home first and foremost, has had implications for the ways in which Latin American feminism was shaped, and in how women's social movements are organised, and articulated and understood. The fact that the woman's place is seen as the private domain means that their very presence in certain public spaces can be a political statement/action, and as a result, the pressure on them to 'legitimise' their reasons for taking part in activism is increased (Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). Various scholars have explored how women

'legitimise' their participation in public activism through the notions of motherhood and the private sphere, and narratives of their roles as mothers, grandmothers, and protectors or future generations (Franceschet et al., 2016; García Guadilla, 1993; Jenkins, 2014a; Laurie, 2011; Radcliffe, 1993; Stephen, 1997; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). This had led to the rise of the concept of the '*supermadre*', super mother, an identity that allows women to become politically active in the public domain, drawing on notions of motherhood and women's gender roles (Corcoran-Nantes, 1993; Franceschet et al., 2016). Its apolitical connotations mean that women can argue they are simply doing their duty, as mothers, to protect children, and life overall, from disruption and loss (Craske, 1993; Laurie, 2011; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993); furthermore, they are able to draw upon notions of *Pachamama* or the Virgin Mary, and thereby, the church to validate their reasons for being politically active (Corcoran-Nantes, 1993; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). Furthermore, notions of femininity and masculinity are sometimes actively employed by mixed-activist groups; Radcliffe (1993) describes how during the time of the land reforms, women would form a human shield around men, blocking police and military access to the latter. Due to women being seen as weaker and more passive, the state officers would not use violence against women, as doing so did not align with their perception of their own masculinity (Radcliffe, 1993).

The aforementioned double (De la Cadena, 1992) or triple (Radcliffe, 1993) oppression of *Campesina* women in Peru means the women face additional marginalisation when they become seen and heard in the public domain (Radcliffe, 1993). In addition to transgressing gender roles by becoming politically active, they are considered transgressing their roles as good citizens by becoming activists. It is then documented that women activists often face particular barriers to activism in relation to men: like men, they are vulnerable to violence, abuse, threats and criminalisation, but on top of that, they are vulnerable to unfair and unequal treatment as opposed to men who are activists, and are viewed more negatively. They are also vulnerable to gendered slurs, intimidation and defamation tactics, and gendered violence (Jenkins, 2014a; Laurie, 2011). Laurie et al. (1999) recognise the need to on one hand, not paint women as simply vulnerable and victims, especially given their broad and often successful work in social movements. On the other hand, they urge not to paint women solely as resisters, or progressive by nature, but rather recognise the differences between women, and the various ways in which femininity can be performed, and is shaped (Laurie et al., 1999).

As I mentioned before, water, key to many socio-environmental movements is often associated with 'the feminine' in Andean cultures, partly due to women's intensive daily interactions with it (Li, 2009b; Stensrud, 2016)). In anti-mining movements, then, women may relate to water from this point of view, playing into the gendered ways in which women may use their political voice. Focusing on water, life, motherhood and caregiving, in other words, domains associated with the feminine, gives women activists more relative safety while they are still able to challenge the public/private distinction. Such narratives of motherhood, protecting life and kinship with the *Pachamama* are also prominent in women's explanations for their involvement in anti-mining movements (Jenkins, 2014a). Aguinaga et al. (2013) suggest women recognise the patriarchal and classist tendency inherent in such large scale projects, which will ultimately harm themselves, their families and nature. Improving their visibility is one of the reasons women may decide to create separate movements, as well the sexism and marginalisation they faced in the wider anti-mining movements (Jenkins, 2014a). Yet, even when invoking notions of the feminine to legitimise their participation in these protests, women were often considered to be transgressing gender roles in doing so, and faced hostility as a result (Brain, 2017; Jenkins, 2014a; Mercier and Gier, 2007; Nash, 1979; Rondón, 2009). This practice is common in delegitimising women's activism in other domains as well (Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). Finally, while women are at the forefront of much activism, they are more likely than men to retreat after and lessen their political involvement, due to exclusion, lack of access, and their domestic responsibilities (Corcoran-Nantes, 1993; Craske, 1993; García Guadilla, 1993; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993).

3.5 Going forward

In this chapter, I have created the framework I will use to discuss women's interpretations of, and relationship with, the mine, in the context of their attachment to place and landscape, relationships and values, and imaginations of potential future, highlighting the knowledges this research contributes to. Combining literature on place-attachment and belonging with that on Andean notions of modernities, development and relationships in the landscape will allow me to focus on the less explored, less 'direct', or tangible, impacts of large-scale mining on the lives of women. What is striking in these various, and vastly different, theories, is how 'place', and the struggle over its meaning, repeatedly comes forward as a central concept. The first part of this chapter highlighted theories on modernity and development, where possible as related to Latin America and

Peru. These theories often forward *place* as the key site of the clash of modernity with the traditional; and of a variety of place-based alternative modernities and alternatives to modernity-inspired development thinking. In the second part of this chapter, I have explored theories on landscape and place-attachment, which highlight the importance of *place* to people with intimate knowledge of it: through the physical landscape within which everyday life occurs, place is lived in, experienced, and actively shaped. Place and landscape, then, become manifestations of an individual's, or group's, history and self-identification, and as a result, sites where changes – be they physical, cultural or otherwise – evoke powerful emotions and responses. Through knowledge and attachment, place becomes the site of the particular, and of articulating resistance to the perceived homogenising forces of globalisation, modernity and development. This is evidenced by the fact that *place* is mobilised as a key component in resistance and struggle, as explored in the section on social movements, where I have highlighted theories analysing how Latin American women and peasant movements, in particular, may mobilise their connections to the everyday and their intimate knowledge of place to fuel and legitimise their participation in resistance. Large scale, open-pit mining can be understood as a localised expression of globalisation, that necessarily deeply affects the site on which it is undertaken. As such, I would argue that places affected by it are important sites for exploring and furthering academic understanding of such clashes of interpretations of modernity and development, its effects on perceptions of continuity and attachment, and the gendered dimensions of these processes. As such, the importance given to place in these different strands of academic theory is a thread that will run through my analysis. Focusing on the case of the (existing) Yanacocha and (proposed) Conga mines, I highlight three main aspects related to this, by critically analysing women's accounts of what is lost, gained, and altered in the context of large-scale mining and its aftermath. First, I critically explore continuity of place-attachment and relationships in the context of mining and modernity in chapter 5. Second, I analyse the continuity of landscape and its inherent relationships in chapter 6. Third, in chapter 7, I discuss women's visions for locally appropriate futures and development. This work, then, puts central the women's understanding of what large-scale mining means to them and their lives, as experienced in place; an approach to gendered impacts of mining that has not yet been taken, but that is needed to gain a full picture of the way women understand their lives as being altered to a degree, or fundamentally, due to mining. Before I turn to this, however, I will discuss how I have approached my methods and methodology in the next chapter.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Stanley and Wise (1983) highlight the importance of feminist researchers communicating their fieldwork experiences explicitly in their writing. As the focus of my research is on women and their stories, my aim to put their voices central has been key to my methodology and research methods. In this chapter, I make visible my thought processes and reasoning, before, during and after fieldwork, by discussing and reflecting on the processes and choices made during my work, rather than keeping them 'hidden' as an unquestioned part of the research process (Stanley and Wise, 1983). I will discuss my experiences, how I have tried to navigate working with the voices of women from the Global South as a woman from the Global North, and highlight my chosen methodology and research methods, focusing on how I tried to approach them in a feminist way.

First things first: this work is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted during roughly seven months in 2016-2017. I collected data through participant observation work in various women's and environmental grassroots organisations and twenty oral history interviews with women from Cajamarca; one in favour of the opening of the Conga mine and nineteen opposing it; sixteen of them currently; two previously; and one never active in social movements. Out of these twenty women, fifteen opted to take part in a mapping exercise, where they indicated important sites of change since the coming of the mine. My interview schedule can be found in Appendix I; a list of the women I interviewed in Appendix II.

In this chapter, I will detail and reflect upon these processes, including how I dealt with issues and challenges, as well as how I have worked with my data after coming back from fieldwork. In section 4.2, I focus on some considerations and plans I made before going into the field, before turning to a description of what I did during fieldwork and some of the obstacles I faced in sections 4.3 and 4.4. In section 4.5, I discuss how I have processed, analysed and used my data after returning from fieldwork, and the considerations that went into this process.

4.2 Theories of conducting feminist research

When I started planning my fieldwork, I decided to spend at least six months in Cajamarca, in order to ensure I would have enough time to gain access, trust and

connections with the women I wanted to work with. As I mentioned previously, before starting my PhD in October 2014, I was a campaigner with CATAPA, a Belgian NGO drawing attention to the problems of local communities living near open-pit mines; at the time (2013-2014), we focused on the Conga conflict in particular, working with an affiliated NGO in Cajamarca city. During this time, I met some of their representatives when they came to Europe on a research trip. When I began my PhD, I felt that even though Cajamarca had become quite a prolific, well-known case, both my prior knowledge of the case, the people I already knew there, and the fact that CATAPA was a trusted name to an important local NGO made it a good site for gaining access to groups of people that were rightfully distrustful of outsiders after many of them became victims of surveillance and threats (Becerril, 2018). Furthermore, little research in the region at the time focused particularly on women. Originally, I intended to focus on how their livelihoods were altered by the coming of the mine, from a feminist interest in the politics of the everyday¹². My aim was to conduct participant observation with women's organisations, or women involved in environmental social movements; so I could find out what their particular observations, wishes and concerns were; as well as conduct oral history interviews with twenty women, both activists and non-activists, if possible, to get a wide perspective, experiences and insights. I felt that by not focusing solely on activists for my interviews, I would be able to capture the perspectives of different types of women, and gain a wider understanding of the range of mining related impacts that women perceived and how they were interpreted.

It was important to me to arrive in Peru with a plan to conduct my research in an as egalitarian way as possible, while remaining aware of how imbalances are always a part of the research project. After all, research conducted by women is not automatically 'feminist', and similarly, there is no such thing as an inherently feminist 'research method'; many research methods can be approached from this angle. Often – including here – feminist research is understood to rely on qualitative data collection, but this is not strictly necessary (Kelly et al., 1992). Geiger (1990) notes a 'research method' can become a 'feminist research method' when:

“they generate their problematic from the study of women as embodying and creating historically and situationally specific economic, social, cultural, national, and racial/ethnic realities; they serve as a corrective for androcentric notions and assumptions about what is “normal” by establishing or contributing to a new knowledge base for understanding women's lives and the gendered elements of the broader social world; they accept women's own interpretations of their identities, their experiences, and social worlds as containing and reflecting

¹² Further on, I will discuss how and why this focus later shifted.

important truths, and do not categorise and, therefore, dismiss them, for the purposes of generalisation, as simply subjective.” (p.170)

In order to understand and anticipate some of the power imbalances in conducting fieldwork, then, I read extensively on how to approach my research methods in a less-hierarchical way. According to McDowell (1992), feminists began to highlight the need for conducting research according to feminist principles in the early 1980s. She argues that deciding to use feminist methodologies may be difficult, due to their ‘niche’ characteristics which are often considered radical and overly political. Evidence of this can be found in articles opposing the need for specific feminist methodology, such as Hammersley (1992), who argues that since many ideas found in feminist methodologies are also found elsewhere, there is no need for a particular focus on ‘feminism’, which he feels may lead to dogmatism. Of course, both McDowell (1992)’s and Hammersley (1992)’s articles were written over twenty-five years ago, and the academic body of feminist work has continued to grow. This is evidenced for example in Olesen (2011)’s review of some of the leading work on feminist research in the millennium’s first decade. One of the things she highlights is that as there are many forms of feminism, so there are various views on feminist methodology and research methods. What is important is acknowledging the complexities and difficulties involved in knowledge creation, which is necessarily partial and situated (Laurie et al., 1999; Trotz and Peake, 1999).

Raju (2002) and McIlwaine and Datta (2003) note an increase of feminist academics abstaining from fieldwork due to a belief they can never be authentic voices for the researched. While Raju (2002) agrees, she urges us to ask: *“Is the positionality of a researcher so irreconcilably privileged that there can be no bond of commonality between the researcher and the researched?”* (p.174). Sultana (2007) and Nagar (2002) similarly raise the issue that feminist researchers abstaining from conducting fieldwork, for fear of misrepresenting and exploiting those they would work with, may lead to less research being produced that might have made a positive impact for the researched population. There is value in telling stories that otherwise may not be told, while acknowledging that the researcher’s rendition of these stories is necessarily partial and subjective. McIlwaine and Datta (2003) raise the point that while ideally the marginalised should speak for themselves, this is not always possible. Gilbert (1994); McIlwaine and Datta (2003); and Sultana (2007) all argue in favour of fieldwork in Global South settings, but urge researchers to be aware of power relations, from small scales (the personal) to large scales (colonisation and globalisation). Cupples (2002) similarly notes that since

much initial geographic and anthropological work was based in colonialism, when trying to conduct anti-colonial fieldwork we must aim to expose the ways in which colonialism continues to exhibit itself. This is especially relevant when discussing extractivism, which is often considered a form of neo-colonialism by local communities and activists, reproducing processes of exploitation and power imbalances prominent in colonial Peru (e.g. Medrano (2014)). Sultana (2007, p. 376) quotes Trotz and Peake (1999, p. 37):

“[acknowledging one’s positionality] can strengthen our commitment to conduct good research based on building relations of mutual respect and recognition. It does, however, entail abandoning the search for objectivity in favour of critical provisional analysis based on plurality of (temporally and spatially) situated voices and silences.”

Parpart (1993) argues that the need for solidarity between women means Global North feminists should not assume their priorities will be the same as those of Global South women, and must put the voices, needs and experiences of women in the Global South first. Furthermore, McDowell (1992) and Finch (1984) point out that assuming equal footing between researcher and researched may lead to the researcher reproducing patterns of oppression and exploitation. During my fieldwork, I have taken these considerations with me, as I will explore in the rest of this chapter.

4.3 Participant observation

In this section, I will outline how I approached contacting my initial gatekeepers, how I negotiated the practicalities and ethics of doing fieldwork, as well as some of the difficulties I faced while doing so.

4.3.1 Practicalities

I arrived in Cajamarca on October 2, 2016, and left just over seven months later, May 8, 2017. Prior to going to Cajamarca, I spent a month in Arequipa, southern Peru, taking an intensive Spanish course. Before arriving in Cajamarca, it was difficult to set up concrete plans or to have a good grasp of the situation there. One of CATAPA’s European volunteers was based in Cajamarca just before I arrived there, and told me that due to financial issues, and the cancellation of the Conga mine, their partner NGO was no longer very active. She suggested I contact Marina¹³, the de facto leader of a group of women in the city who had opposed the mine, and still met frequently. She also informed Marina of my plan to come to Cajamarca, so she knew to expect an e-mail from me, which was very helpful: I learned later that Marina is mostly open to receiving

¹³ N.B For reasons of anonymity, I have used different names for my gatekeepers in this chapter than elsewhere, where relevant. All are pseudonyms.

researchers, journalists, and volunteers that have been referred to her by a trusted source. Furthermore, my supervisor put me in contact with LAMMP¹⁴, a charity based in England aiming to support indigenous and rural women whose lives have been affected by large scale extractivism, who put me in contact with Isabel, a woman living in Cajamarca city and part of another group of women activists there. Before going into the field, I had completed the university's ethics checks where I outlined how I was going to approach the initial gatekeepers; the e-mails I had drafted had been approved. This ensured that the women who turned out to be my main gatekeepers in Cajamarca city knew what my intentions were. Both Marina and Isabel responded to my initial e-mail, and were interested to meet with me, but otherwise not very keen to communicate before my arrival; understandably, it was not their main priority. Both advised me to phone them after I had arrived. As a result, I came into my field with flexible plans, aiming to follow up on the various leads I had to find out what was the best way to gain access to women's/environmental groups that were still active after the Conga mining project was put on hold. While I was interested in meeting both activist and non-activist women, through the type of contacts my background provided, (groups of) activist women were an obvious starting point for my fieldwork. I did look to get involved in, e.g., women's organisations that were independent from mining activism, but from what I found, the main groups of women, and individual women, who were currently advocating for women's rights or looking to help women in disadvantaged positions had also been strongly present in the anti-Conga movements. There is, of course, a strong connection between the interests of disadvantaged, marginalised and poor women, generally, and that of those resisting the mine, which could explain this overlap. However, there is always the possibility that I overlooked something or someone; ultimately, I would also have been pressed for time if I had had more groups of people to work with.

As it turned out, my background was indispensable in gaining quick access to the organisations that I ended up working with. I felt very lucky that I managed to meet Marina and Isabel during my first week and get more extensive information on the situation *in situ*; both women stated this was because I was referred by people they had met, worked with, and trusted. I met Isabel for coffee, and I introduced myself and my reasons for being there. She was interested in sharing stories with me, but told me the group of women she was part of was temporarily in a hiatus. They started meeting again as I was about to leave Cajamarca; as a result, I never attended their meetings. However, I met Isabel several times and she was a great help for my research, providing me context and

¹⁴ Latin American Mining Monitoring Programme.

contacts, and for me personally, being a friendly face around the city. Marina, on the other hand, informed me of a public event during my first week in Cajamarca; a political speech. There, I met her and she introduced me to various women activists. We spoke about why I was there, and Marina started inviting me along to open meetings initially, such as book launches and presentations by NGOs – where I got to meet some more of the women, and bit by bit became a familiar face. Before long, I started getting invited along to closed meetings; always by Marina, who was involved in various different groups in Cajamarca. While I attended several group meetings initially, with different but overlapping members, ultimately the two most important ones were a women's group and an environmental group. Initially, I considered my attendance of the official meetings and workshops of the organisations my main strategy of collecting participant observation data. There are no exact rules for what is participant observation and what is not, or how exactly it should be conducted, but it usually involves taking part in interactions, events and rituals are of importance in the researcher's chosen fieldwork site (DeWalt et al., 2010; Suter, 2000).

The women's organisation met around once or twice a week, sometimes more if an important event, such as a trip or conference, was coming up. They usually met mid-afternoon, going several hours into the early evening. It was common that we went out for a meal or a drink afterwards. At these meetings, mainly women were present; generally, between ten and fifteen; I met around twenty-five associated women overall. Furthermore, one man attended regularly due to his professional interest in gender issues. The women were mostly (though not exclusively) over forty years old, and most of them had taken part in the anti-Conga protests; all of them opposed Conga. The environmental group was slightly bigger, and had more members filtering in and out (between fifteen to thirty present at an average meeting, I met around forty individuals); often more men than women were in attendance. Many women of the women's group were part of the environmental organisation, and sometimes one of the meetings would flow into the other. The environmental group also met once or twice a week, late afternoon, and the age group was similar. The lack of younger people at the meetings was occasionally discussed as a problem, and attributed to young people's attention spans being shorter: young people were involved anti-Conga activism and the *Ni Una Menos* marches, but did not stick around as much afterwards. Other reasons could include younger people having less experience and therefore obtaining less responsibility (e.g. roles of president, vice-president, treasurer, etc. went to older

members), therefore feeling less responsible for sticking around; the use of social media by younger people to stay connected and up to date; young people having their own organisations (e.g. student organisations); and/or young people having less time to make long-term commitments due to having young families and/or starting a career.

During my time in Cajamarca, the women and environmental groups' main focus was on capacity building, environmental monitoring, and women's rights. The right to a life free from (domestic) violence as well as the rights of LGBT* people were important topics for the organisations during my fieldwork, at times facilitated by 'outside' NGOs from Lima and/or local and regional governments. Still, the presence and potential threat of the mine were on many activists' minds, often discussed, and reflected in the names of the organisations that highlighted protection of water, life, and/or Mother Earth. As I became more well-known and trusted within the group of women, I was invited along for group activities both involving the organisation directly (day and overnight trips) as well as socialising events such as dinners, evenings in the bar, and cultural events such as viewing the *carnaval*. In this way I was able to immerse myself and build personal connections with the women, beyond just being seen at their meetings. In this way, participant observation helped me, as Suter (2000) states is important, understand the context of the research, provide depth, and put the perspectives of the participants front and centre over that of the researcher.

I ended up spending most of my time in Cajamarca city. While the reading I had done prior to arriving in the field mostly concerned the Cajamarcan countryside, I found the groups I got involved with in the city very interesting; they were taking parts in various, diverging projects of their own making, or together with journalists and/or NGOs; they were invited to events in and outside of the region for their knowledge and expertise; and were, all in all, a diverse and interesting group of women. However, I was still interested in going further afield, and the women in Cajamarca city encouraged me to visit the towns of Celendín and Bambamarca in particular, locations were noted for their heavy involvement in the anti-Conga protests.

Isabel in Cajamarca put me in contact with Tatiana in Bambamarca, who was involved in their *Rondas Campesinas* and the *Rondas Femininas*; all the women I interviewed in Bambamarca are *Ronderas*. The town of Bambamarca, provincial capital of Hualgayoc, is located about two and a half hours north of Cajamarca by *combi* (mini-van, public

transport). On the way, you pass through the area of the Yanacocha mine, a sobering experience to see its effects on the landscape relatively up close. After I went to Bambamarca to meet Tatiana, she invited me to meetings and outings of the *Rondas Femininas*; these, as well as the interviews and social outings with women I met there took me further into the surrounding countryside. In total, I spent about three weeks in Bambamarca divided over two trips.

I met Rowena, one of the important figures in the environmental organisations of Celendín, during a multi-day environmental seminar in Cajamarca city, where she and various other *Celendinas* were present. Mariana introduced us, and after we spoke about my work Rowena invited me to Celendín to meet women there and see the work they were doing. Rowena is a *Rondera* involved in the women's environmental group in Celendín, a branch of a larger environmental organisation in the town. The town of Celendín is capital of Celendín province, about two hours east of Cajamarca city by *combi*. Similar to Bambamarca, Celendín was the starting point for various trips further into the countryside, both for the organisations and through social invitations. Like in Cajamarca, the number of people involved in social movements in Celendín had shrunk since the time of heavy activism, and the women's group was currently combining environmental and gendered concerns. In total, I spent about a month in Celendín, divided over three trips. Various women from Bambamarca and Celendín would occasionally come to Cajamarca for workshops, meetings and other events, which means I had a chance to interact with them beyond the time I spent in their towns.

4.3.2 Ethical considerations of doing participant observation

Many feminist researchers highlight the importance of doing research 'with' or 'for' women, rather than 'about' them: this can be done through mutual understanding and learning, and trying to create a space for interaction that is as non-hierarchical as possible, while acknowledging the politics and power relations inherent to fieldwork and research (Bondi, 2003; Cotterill, 1992; DeVault, 1996; Harrison, 2007; Laurie et al., 1999; McDowell, 1992; Oakley, 1981; Sultana, 2007). Such research should be sensitive to every day lived realities, subjectivity of researcher and researched, and reciprocity (Harrison, 2007; Landman, 2006). Throughout my fieldwork, I concerned myself with these issues; how can I, as a Global North, university educated, white young woman try to approach my research as non-hierarchically as possible? It would be erroneous to ignore or overlook the differences between me and the women I worked with, and the

advantaged position I come from. Being from such a different background, how can I be sure I have interpreted people's words and actions correctly, and hope to accurately convey the stories I was told? As mentioned previously, these considerations are especially important when it comes to conducting research in the Global South, given the differences in opportunities available to the researcher and the researched (Radcliffe, 1994; Staeheli and Lawson, 1995). Whether or not it is fully possible to apply research methods in a feminist way is contested, owing in part to the continued risks of exploitation present in qualitative research methods, as well as the assumptions made when stating it is possible to conduct research 'for' other women, or to create mutually beneficial learning by simply conducting interviews or observation (England, 1994; Huisman, 2008; McDowell, 1992). The risk of exploitation of the researched remains present, as power disparities between women cannot be overcome by simply using the right research methods (Harrison, 2007). This is partly why in feminist research, the topics of positionality and reflexivity are considered particularly important; to make the subjectivities of the researcher visible in the research, and to help acknowledge and negotiate to some extent the disparities between ourselves as researchers and the people we work with (Sharp, 2005)(England, 1994; Harding, 1991; Rose, 1997). Reflexivity demands that the researcher conduct introspection, be critical of ourselves and our position. It enables us, not to undo the power relations and the unconscious processes of knowledge production, but instead to acknowledge them and open a space for discussion; although it is equally important to note that we can never fully understand and address the subconscious processes of knowledge (co-)production, nor the ways in which power is established during research processes (Bondi, 2003; Browne, 2003; England, 1994; Laurie et al., 1999; Rose, 1997).

McDowell (1992) argues that we must not make light of the power relations and ethical implications involved in participant observation, and I will outline how I dealt with that now. Whenever I joined in a meeting with a new group of people, I would either introduce myself or be introduced by the person that had invited me there. The exception to this were two very large meetings that I attended – one being the congress of the *Rondas Campesinas* in Chota, late January 2017, where reportedly over 2000 people were present (Instituto Internacional de Derecho y Sociedad, 2017), and a large workshop in Celendín that I was invited to after it had started; I arrived halfway through the first day. While I knew most people present, I did not know everyone, and did not have the chance to introduce myself until the breaks. As people were filtering in and out throughout the

duration of the workshops I did not speak to everyone, and therefore not everyone present knew specifically what I was there for. Other foreign researchers were present at both of these events, which shows a certain openness to our presence. I have not included any information obtained at either event without the individuals' consent. At the meetings of the two organisations I attended regularly – the women's and environmental organisation in Cajamarca – everyone of course knew who I was and what I was there for, and I had a more individual relationship with many of the women. I never recorded a meeting; I felt that it was hard to gain uniform consent for doing so; it seemed there were a lot of potential ethical mishaps, such as women potentially not objecting even if they had wanted to, or arriving later and not knowing that I was recording. Instead, I relied on taking copious notes during, and typing out additional field notes in the evenings, which I felt was less invasive. Of course this means it was more difficult to capture quotes word-for-word, and some information may have been lost, but I learned to get better at this, and have included a few quotes from these meetings in the following chapters. When I have done so, I have gained the consent from the individual after the meeting in a one-to-one conversation and gone over the specifics of the quote with her.

I found that the women of Cajamarca, Bambamarca and Celendín were used to foreign volunteers, journalists and researchers taking an interest in their case, attending events and being around for various months. An obvious advantage of this was that my presence was quite easily accepted; a disadvantage was that it took time for me to be seen as more than just another foreigner passing through. In the first two months or so, I was treated as a fly on the wall, observer in the meetings, highlighting the sense that I had only been granted 'superficial' access, to the official side of organisations and groups, while not yet understanding how the community and its members worked together, how the internal power relations between different women in these groups worked. At the same time, I felt very aware that my being in that field might affect and change the situations I witnessed. When I joined a meeting, my presence may have altered its course: did people say the same things when I'm around? Did they feel as comfortable speaking up? Since the members generally did not seem to have a problem discussing sensitive issues in my presence, I did not feel bothersome or unwelcome. Only once, one of the women requested I leave a meeting early to discuss personal matters. Of course I complied, which I hope indicated that other women could do the same if they were uncomfortable with my presence. Still, it is necessary to acknowledge that my understanding of the situation is only partial; complicated further by my own

cultural background – Dutch directness, i.e., expecting people to say what they mean – in interpreting social cues.

Jorgensen (1989) discusses how through participation in everyday activities, the researcher may try to create circumstances where her or his presence is as non-intrusive as possible; highlighting one of the ethical discussions in participant observation: deciding how much to observe, and how much to participate (DeWalt et al., 2010). Dealing with this decision at times proved difficult. Scanlon (1993) addresses the importance of reciprocity, the need to give back to the people we're working with because we cannot assume simply 'telling their stories' is enough. Yet, coming in with the intention to contribute as much as I could at times turned out to be quite naïve. I learned through trial and error what my 'place' should be in the groups. Generally, during the official parts of the meeting, or during the creative processes in which the women were involved, this was to be quiet. An example of negotiating this balance occurred when the members of the Cajamarcan women's organisation and I were taking a long journey, and they decided to write a song for the meeting they were invited to. Because the atmosphere on the trip so far had been quite informal, I felt it was natural to think along. But when I made a suggestion, it was quickly and decisively dismissed by the group's leader. However, my help was appreciated when I decided to write the lyrics down for everyone to have written copies to memorise before the meeting. I was also, at the meeting, invited to sing along. This shows how a more passive way of pitching in proved more useful and welcome than doing so actively. Helping out in practical ways – such as handing out coffee, translating documents, doing inventory work, sending messages and information between locations as I was travelling, setting up and tidying up – were small ways in which I could show I was involved and willing to carry my weight wherever possible.

Furthermore, I ran into ethical concerns relating to the observation of people in their daily life, or time off. I decided against using some interesting conversations initially recorded in my field notes, as they took place with people under the influence of alcohol, or that clearly considered themselves to be confiding in a friend (rather than speaking to a researcher/observer), or stories that included gossip about others (while I initially felt quite uncomfortable with these, they did help me understand the internal social relations, power struggles, and differences between the women I worked with). These kinds of conversations became more frequent after I had been in the field for a while and became more involved in informal social outings and activities. Their exclusion is based on my

own judgement of situations, and reflections on how while we were socialising, while I always remembered that this was part of my research and fieldwork, I could tell my participants considered it my 'down time' as well as it was theirs.

4.3.3 Gaining trust by waiting

Some of this perceived 'down time' was spent in waiting: waiting for meetings to start, waiting for everyone to arrive at the combi before departing, waiting to hear what we were going to be doing. Delamont (2004) states that in order to conduct successful research through participant observation it is not necessary for the researcher to actually actively participate in what people are doing; but rather to talk to them while doing it. Being western European, I have always been taught to arrive on time for meetings and work-events. During my time in Cajamarca, I therefore naturally arrived at the agreed upon time, and would often end up waiting at least an hour for a meeting to start. Actually arriving four in the afternoon, or *four in the morning*, turned out to be the 'key' to becoming more involved in the informal aspects of the organisations and the lives of its members. While waiting, I would chat with the other women already present, which proved to be a good way to get to know them better and for them to get to know me. The atmosphere in this 'waiting time' was quite informal, very different from the meetings themselves. These informal waiting spaces before meetings and outings helped me to reach another layer of 'access'; as being around and chatting to people during this time led me to be invited along for meals or drinks. Palmer et al. (2017) discuss the role of waiting during fieldwork; not just by providing an opportunity for informal conversation, but in re-negotiating power between the researcher and the researched. They state that a researcher that shows acceptance of having to wait for others is acknowledging the needs and priorities of the participants, while demonstrating their availability and presence in the research. They claim this is a way to redistribute the relative power of the participant and the researcher, provided the researcher 'offers up' their waiting in a respectful way without resentment. In a way, PhD work provides the researcher the opportunity to do this kind of waiting, by allowing for a relatively long fieldwork period. I had no problem rescheduling interviews, outings and meetings, which would have been difficult in research projects with a shorter fieldwork period. Palmer et al. (2017) bring up the interesting notion of how waiting has been used historically as a form of power over the vulnerable or subaltern, and in Global South research, waiting without resentment goes a small way towards reversing such power imbalances by allowing the less powerful to set their needs and priorities first.

I would add to Palmer et al. (2017)'s observation on 'waiting' by adding that the concept of 'time' in general was very different during my fieldwork as compared to my 'normal life'. I felt I had a lot less control over it, in ways that went beyond 'having to wait'. Often when I was invited somewhere, I was only partly informed of what we were going to be doing, or for how long. This might have been cultural – I quickly learned that when making plans with someone, it was usually assumed I would spend the rest of the day with them, so it was unwise to schedule two things in one day as I might have 'back home'. I also had to consider that while to me, the research was always on my mind, to the people I was working with it was mostly an afterthought. This is reflected in the work of Smyth and Whitehead (2012, p. 28) who noted that research participants: *"...could not be expected to identify strongly with the obligations of the researchers to produce high quality research products"*. Therefore, I considered myself lucky to be invited along, including when it led to situations where I was not informed something was an overnight trip, or thinking I was meeting someone for an interview but ending up spending the day at a village party or their allotment. Palmer et al. (2017, p. 426) quote Gasparini (1995, p. 42) in relation to waiting:

"the attitude of patience expresses the full acceptance of the other's time, which cannot be reduced to our own time and our own projects or designs... waiting refers to the fact that things and people operate in a time which is peculiar to themselves"

I think this attitude can be more widely applied to 'willingness to do unexpected things' – being away for much longer than anticipated, and not always having your intentions met (e.g. conducting an interview). While not necessarily 'waiting' in the direct sense, it was a time that, for me, was filled with uncertainty. Thereby, apart from being another good way to establish relationships, attending unexpected events was another way I could offer up my time unquestioningly, relinquishing control over what we were doing or where we were going, giving that power to the research participants instead.

4.3.4 Personal reflections: mixed emotions and fluctuating positionalities

This was the first long research trip I have undertaken, and the first time I was really immersed in my field in terms of my day to day life. There is no amount of reading that could have prepared me for the realities of longer term research in a Global South setting; the situations, the friendships, the strangeness and the foreignness, while at other times, being so grateful to experience that unfamiliarity. I cannot capture this chaos in words.

The emotions associated with doing fieldwork are many and complex, and the negative ones at times rear their head; I experienced stretches loneliness, feeling disconnected and out of my element as described by Pollard (2009). When experiencing negative emotions, I tried to acknowledge them without indulging in self-pity. A difficult time was when my engagement ended during my second month of fieldwork. However, I found great distraction in company, and took the opportunity to immerse myself as fully as possible into my field, taking every invitation, staying until the last person went home, exploring my surroundings and speaking to anyone who was interested. As I mentioned, as time went on, I was increasingly invited for social outings, gatherings, or to spend the day with a particular woman's family. Of course, I saw this as a good thing: a sign of increasing trust and the building of relationships that signalled acceptance of my presence in the group, beyond just as an observer at meetings. So, daily life and field work became ever more interwoven, and in doing so the research itself got removed to the background. This living in the here and now, while good for my fieldwork and my relationships there, was eventually related to the most difficult fieldwork experience, the transition in coming back, which I will discuss later. The difficulty of going from one role to another in immersive fieldwork is documented and a cause of debate: how to balance empathy and distance; not becoming so involved in a certain social group that we align ourselves with them uncritically (Fuller, 1999; O'Reilly, 2009). To avoid disconnecting from the research, at the end of almost every day, I took some time to write down thoughts and observations, and reflect on what had happened, which as DeWalt et al. (2010) note is very important for researchers using participant observation. In Cajamarca, I rented a room from a woman that otherwise had no connection to my fieldwork, in Bambamarca and Celendín I stayed at guesthouses. This allowed me to have some space 'away' from immersion. I did not forget I was a PhD student named Inge from an English university, but what felt more important was that I was a Dutch woman named Adriana¹⁵; happy to turn up to events at short notice, often with incomplete information, then wait for an hour or two for things to actually start going. Therefore, even when becoming more immersed in the social aspect of the women's organisations, I was never fully an insider; furthermore, I found that it was not just me that continued reflecting on my 'outsider' position. It was frequently reinforced by other people's interpretations of my actions – e.g. me, as a vegetarian, not eating guinea pig was still considered a '*gringa*' (white person) thing first and foremost; people were often excited to share new and unknown parts of their culture with me; people often enquired until when I was staying in Cajamarca; and once, a woman told everyone to arrive at eleven, then turned to me and

¹⁵ My middle name and, as I soon found out, far easier to pronounce for native Spanish speakers.

said: “you – you come at eleven thirty”, before telling someone else: “*you know how they are; tell them eleven, and they actually arrive at eleven*”¹⁶. These instances reinforced my outsider status, and kept me grounded in continually reflecting on what I was doing and how I was coming across.

4.4 Conducting Interviews

During my time in Peru, I carried out twenty oral history interviews, mostly with women who had taken part in anti-mining resistance and activism to various extents. I carried out the interviews across my time in the field, conducting the first one within the first month and the last one some days before leaving. Looking back on earlier interviews, I can tell I was less familiar with the context, asking more basic questions. However, the long time I still had to reflect on them whilst in the field, gave me a lot of context and inspiration to ask more specific questions, or ask about specific events later on. In later interviews I was able to ask more specific questions, both about the social context and the women themselves. The downside of the later interviews was that I often had a harder time getting people to talk about things about themselves they knew I already knew, basic things having become ‘invisible’, implicit in our conversation. Additionally, occasionally they had told me in-depth stories beforehand that they, of course, would not go into again during the interview, as I already knew. Though I asked if I could use important anecdotes obtained outside of interviews in my research, this means I don’t have recordings of certain stories, just notes. However, as I said, the later interviews could often pass by some basic details and go more in depth, which would not have been possible if I had conducted all interviews earlier or in a shorter time frame. As a result, spreading the interviews across my fieldwork has the benefit providing a wide range of different anecdotes and depth.

As a feminist researcher, my obvious goal going into the field was to conduct research that was focused on women’s stories; in this case, in their own right, without the need to be contrasted with men’s stories (Jenkins, 2017; Singh, 2007). Singh (2007) argues for doing research where Global South women are not contrasted with Global South men or Global North women, but rather where their stories are valued in their own right, combatting the pitfall of describing ‘Global South women’, or in this case, ‘Peruvian/Andean women’ as a homogenous group. This goes with Geiger (1990)’s critique that feminist researchers may worry too much about talking to ‘representative’ women – of their ethnic group, age class, country or simply as a ‘Global South’ woman.

¹⁶ At 11:30 I was still the first to arrive.

While their stories may reflect wider trends, they are also personal and unique; the possibility to generalise should not be among the most important factors when considering whom to speak to (Geiger, 1990; Scanlon, 1993; Singh, 2007). The main goal of feminist research should not be to produce knowledge that can be widely applied elsewhere, but rather to recognise it as local and personal; not to over-generalise, and leave room for other interpretations and knowledges (Rose, 1997). This is why, in line with qualitative approaches, the main goal of this research was not to simply find 'representative stories' or 'objective truths'. As I mentioned previously, I was interested to meet women who had not been involved in the anti-mining movements, to gain a broader spectrum of women's perspectives on mining. However, this proved difficult as my main contacts were activists, and working with them took up so much of my time. Furthermore, the women's groups had a common goal and were thus regularly meeting, providing a central focus point of access that was not as readily available for other women. However, through a snowball approach with some of the women in the women's groups, as well as through a friend I made through a Spanish teacher in Arequipa, I managed to interview two women that had only been superficially involved in the anti-mining protests, and two that had never been involved at all; one of them supporting the coming of the Conga mine. Of course, with my history of working for an anti-mining NGO the inherent bias of the project was obvious from the start, and all interviewed women were aware of this. In Appendix I, I have included a list of interviewees, including current location, whether or not they were born there, age, current involvement in social movements, and how they identified (*Campesina* or *mestiza*). For anonymity, I have not included precise locations for women born 'elsewhere'; though all came from rural areas.

In-depth interviews and oral histories are some research methods often used in the context of a feminist methodology, due to being participatory as well as a way to gather stories of women that may otherwise be overlooked and marginalised in academia (Sangster, 1994). In his influential work, Atkinson (1998, p. 125) defines the sociological life story as:

"the story a person chooses to tell about the life he has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview"

Using such a technique for interviews places importance on personal narratives, in people's own words; allowing them to relate events to each other and highlight important experiences. The difference between life history and oral history interviews is that life

histories must focus on the interviewee's entire life up until the present day, whereas oral histories may highlight specific events and do not necessarily need to work up to the present (Atkinson, 1998). They may be seen as one person's interpretation of events, highlighting occurrences that have made significant changes in their lives (Bird, 2011); in the case of my work, of course, this often came to be focused around narratives of the mine. The aim of feminist narrative approaches, Singh (2007) argues, should be to listen to women and give them an individual voice. Stephen (1997) highlights that one of the benefits of these approaches is the context it can give to the life of individuals, capturing their perspectives as wider than simply being 'activists', but rather explaining their political activity as one aspect of their lives. Lindemann (2008) highlights how telling their stories allows individuals to re-address and reconsider some of the events that have shaped their lives. She argues these narratives may give women greater control over their creative power and reshape their sense of self and their life. Furthermore, it offers an opportunity to understand how they perceive and interact with their past and present, what they consider important, and how they position themselves within their cultural, political and environmental context (Sangster, 1994).

Peoples' memories and accounts can be and are shaped, consciously, sub-consciously or both, by factors such as gender, class and race and their intersections (Benson and Nagar, 2006; Sangster, 1994). This is worth considering because while both my participants and I are women, in almost all other regards our lives are very different. As I mentioned, as a white, middle class, university educated woman from the Global North, my life experiences had been very different from the women I spoke to, and there are things about their lives that, even though they explain them to me, I can never fully 'grasp'. Scanlon (1993) quotes Gluck and Patai (1991, p. 2) in this regard, who warn researchers against:

"the innocent assumption that gender united women more powerfully than class and race divided them, and that the mere study of women fulfilled a commitment to do research "about" women."

I tried to be sensitive to these issues and reflect on how my background informed my expectations of the women I spoke to, and the outcomes of the interviews. I tried to negotiate the power imbalances by giving the women some of the 'power' over the interviews, starting by letting them decide the time and place, so we could talk in a location where they felt comfortable, as well as being very flexible in rescheduling, and never asking for an interview more than once, in case the woman in question felt

uncomfortable turning my request down. In accordance with the university's ethics policy, I did not offer gifts or compensation, but offered to meet the women in public places to have lunch or a juice. In instances where the women felt more comfortable meeting at their work or home, I would usually bring a snack, such as fruit from the market, to share and break the ice. Some of the power imbalance, I felt, was occasionally off-set by my younger age. Some of the older women I spoke to behaved almost 'motherly' – insisting that I stay for supper, insisting that I eat more, and expressing concern and pity for me living in a strange country alone, far away from my family, for an extended period of time.

4.4.1 Interview outlines

When agreeing on taking an interview at some point, I would hand the women a copy of a form that outlined my intentions for the interview and how I would ensure the safety and anonymity of their data. When I had arranged an interview over the phone, I would give them the leaflet upon sitting down for the interview. I made sure to go through it with all women before the interview began, so they understood there was no obligation to take part and they could stop the interview at any time, skip a question, ask me anything, or withdraw their participation later¹⁷. Some women had questions before we began, asking more information/clarification as to why exactly I was there, which university sent me, and what my background was in being interested in the project, which of course I answered truthfully. Some were simply interested to learn more about me and where I came from, e.g. about my family or my country. All the women I interviewed agreed to be recorded and for me to use anonymised quotes from the interview in my work. In order to protect their identity, throughout this work, the women's names have been changed, as well as the names of any people they spoke about in their quotes, and some personal information has been altered or redacted from their quotes.

During the interviews, I tried to follow Sosulski et al. (2010)'s suggested approach to oral history interviewing, aiming to let the respondents themselves define and highlight which events have been important in their lives, and have had a significant influence for good or bad. The interviewing technique then includes asking broad questions; I usually opened with simple questions about the participant's age and occupation, before going into their life history, then turning to a discussion on mining. An overview of my interview schedule, in Spanish and in English, is included in Appendix I. This interview schedule reflects my initial plan to focus on gendered livelihood strategies, but returned a wide range of answers that proved suitable for the analysis I have ended up doing. The

¹⁷ This was especially important in one particular case where the interviewee was illiterate

interviews varied between 45 minutes and 2.5 hours. I did not ask every woman every question, and often asked questions not included in the interview schedule, using probes and follow ups to get to understand more about a specific story they shared (e.g. Sosulski et al. (2010); Tierney (1999)). In this way, I tried to give the women power over the interview and the stories they felt were most important. However, as the interviewer, I asked the questions, decided what to follow up on and what not to, consciously or sub-consciously steering the interviews in certain directions. Mostly, I have let the women speak and finish their thoughts, including when these drifted far away from my research interests (e.g. the detailed history of a great-uncle who was a 19th century war hero). However, when they were done speaking, I would try to direct the conversation back – usually successfully – with a question from my interview schedule, or something they had mentioned more related to their own lives or the mine, and my choices have undoubtedly had an effect on the kinds of data and outputs this research has produced.

After the interview was over, I would again ask the women if they had any questions, and if there was anything they said that they would prefer I leave out of my research. Some women asked that I disregard an answer or a particular piece of sensitive information, and I have not transcribed or used these parts. I made sure the women knew they could get in contact with me afterwards to withdraw their interview data, and gave them my phone number and e-mail address. None of them got in contact with me to change or withdraw their participation after the interview was over. I undertook only one second interview, when the woman in question had little available time but was interested in meeting with me again. I made sure to highlight that the results from my research would always be anonymous, and that keeping my participants' information safe would be one of my main concerns. Many of the women stated how important this was for them, since the mine is a sensitive topic and some of them had a history of suffering threats and/or violence as a result of their involvement in anti-mining activism.

4.4.2 Visually redefining the 'usual story'

Some of the women I interviewed had done interviews in relation to the mine and their activism before. For that reason, I began with open questions about the interviewee's life, such as where they had grown up and what life had looked like at the time. I didn't relate this directly to mining, and partly to my surprise, many of the women did not either. I had expected them to bring up the mine and activism early because they knew my research related to those topics. On the other hand, I could tell that some of the women

were expecting me to be looking for a certain story, especially those that had been interviewed before, and they told that story right away. In order to change the flow of the interview, before diving into more detailed questions about the mine and the women's activism, I asked the participants to draw a map highlighting sites of change in relation to the mine. This exercise was meant to provide the women an opportunity to be creative and think about the mine's impact on their lives in a slightly different way, allowing them to highlight what they considered most important.

Visual research methods such as these are a growing field in sociology, as they become recognised for their potential to create collaborative relationships between the researcher and the researched, and to give the less powerful more chance to use their individual voice (Luttrell and Chalfen, 2010; Robinson, 2011). However, as with other methods, in the end it is the researcher who decides what she uses and what she does not¹⁸; in other words, the researcher remains the person in the most powerful position (Guillemin and Drew, 2010; Packard, 2008; Rose, 2014; Weber, 2018). A key benefit of using visual methods is that they are considered to obtain not just more, but different kinds of knowledge than other methods would (Guillemin and Drew, 2010; Packard, 2008). In preparing and using this research method, I drew inspiration from some key ideas of participatory mapping methods, in line with Crampton (2009)'s interpretation of maps as *"performative, participatory and political"* (p.840). The mapping exercise may contribute to a wider narrative, focusing on locations familiar to the story-teller; in this way providing a strategy for communicating local knowledge (Araujo de Almeida, 2013; Cartwright, 2013; Sanderson and Newport, 2007). I mentioned the word 'map' when explaining the exercise, but afterwards gave the participants freedom, leaving how and what to draw open to their interpretation. Being vague in explaining the point of the exercise allowed the participants to be creative and draw what came to their mind, in the way they wanted it. In this sense, I drew inspiration from some 'geophilosophy' as described by de Acosta (2007) and Crampton (2009), in their discussions on cognitive mapping as an art form. As de Acosta (2007) notes:

"A philosophical map, then, would chart the ephemeral events of everyday life and invest them with new significance, documenting experiences and increasing the possibility of their communication." (p.76)

Furthermore, mapping can be seen as a political act, providing social commentary. Crampton (2009) notes how this is often done with use of GIS; such maps would highlight

¹⁸ I have used ten maps in the main body of this thesis; see chapter 6. The five maps that I did not use can be found in Appendix IV.

or track actual changes, using that to underline protest. While this is very different to what I did, I was interested in the notion of maps as political/tools for protest as described by the Institute for Applied Autonomy (2007):

“...making maps that present alternate interpretations of various landscapes and reveal implicit relationships between power, control and spatial practice.” (p.29)

Fifteen out of twenty women participated in this exercise, some deciding not to due to lack of time or insecurities over their drawing skills. Of course, I would tell them that I did not need a beautiful or geographically accurate map, while remaining careful not to push them to participate. Most women that took part seemed to enjoy the opportunity to be creative, and laughing about little mistakes was a break from the more ‘formal’ interviewer/interviewee relationship. The exercise was thus successful in renegotiating that relationship to some extent, by giving the participants more ‘power’ over how to tell their story. This is in line with the Institute for Applied Autonomy (2007)’s notion that giving the more marginalised party the opportunity to create maps challenges the Foucauldian power normally inherent to map creation (as also touched upon by Sanderson and Newport (2007)). The mapping exercise often seemed to tap into an emotional connection the women felt with place and landscape. At times, it seemed to redirect their stories somewhat: especially in the case of women who initially did not object much to mining, and think it can be good for Cajamarca (see sections 6.3.1 and 7.2.2). Notably, creating their maps led them to speak about the positive connotations they had of the pre-mining landscape. The maps include a variety of things: some women indicated sites of struggle, others focused on sources of clean versus contaminated water in the area. Some drew the place where they currently lived, others the village they had grown up in, others the direct surroundings of the mine. Some created contrasting before/after pictures. Some wrote clarifications on their maps, others did not. Some of the women were quite chatty during the making of the map, and others kept very quiet; even as I tried to prompt them to talk about it. This is in line with the methodological discussion on participatory mapping by Kindon et al. (2007, p.17):

“In work with marginalised or vulnerable people, one of the most important features of these types of method is their ‘hands on’ nature, and their ability to enable people to generate information and share knowledge on their own terms using their own symbols, language or art forms. [...] [These methods] emphasise shared learning, shared knowledge and flexible yet structured collaborative analysis. They require the researcher to relinquish control and take more of a back seat as a facilitator rather than director of the process.”

The disadvantages of leaving the mapping exercise vague is it may have increased some women's insecurity over what they were 'meant' to draw, and whether or not what they were doing was 'right'. Usually this insecurity seemingly went away after discussing it, but it is impossible to be certain. The maps coming out so different also has its downside. While I set few guidelines on purpose, it is more difficult to draw conclusions from the collection of maps as a whole. Looking back, it might have been interesting to ask all participants, for example, to draw a 'before' and 'after'. This might also have made the process more straightforward for the participants. However, the freedom to 'map' what they wanted may have allowed them to express what they felt was most important, or the place they felt the most connection to, which helped to further inform my research.

4.5 Analysis and Writing up

Coming back from field work was difficult; partly because, as I mentioned before, I had become quite immersed in my site, and had become used to being around specific people and had got close to them, a nice but melancholy aspect of the fieldwork experience as described by Bacchiddu (2004). It was hard initially to get back into a steady, and above all, solitary routine; this, above all, contributed to my reverse culture shock (Bacchiddu, 2004; Barry, 2002). I had become very used to things happening and changing all the time, to being around people, and socially 'on' a lot, where occasional days to myself became welcome breaks to relax and reflect – often knowing that something might pop up at the last minute. Back in England, working on my own had to become the norm again, and I had to find a balance between work and socialising, making an active effort so I would not go days without speaking to people, and accepting that I would have to spend a lot of time behind a computer screen, rather than work and socialising coming hand in hand naturally as they had done in Cajamarca. Of course, this is a necessary part of research, and mostly it involved letting time do its trick to lead me back into habit and structure.

I had started transcribing the interviews while I was in Peru, but had only managed to complete two, so it was my first main task when coming back. The interviews, including discussions about the maps, were recorded and transcribed by me and not seen by anyone else, in accordance with the university's ethics guidelines and as discussed with my research participants. Scanlon (1993) highlights the need to be cautious when transcribing interviews and using women's stories; urging to stay as truthful as possible to that which was said, without compromising their anonymity. This has been a constant

balancing act, and since this was so important to the women, I have erred on the side of caution; leaving out those parts that contained personal information and generalising some information – e.g. family relationships or locations – where I felt it was necessary.

Once transcribed, I entered the interviews and my field notes into NVivo and used a thematic analysis according to a list of themes and sub-themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2014). I set up my first version of codes with the idea of livelihoods in mind, using a deductive approach to my data based on literature study I had done before going to Peru, and coded and outlined early versions of my data chapters accordingly. However, after constructing a first draft, I felt this framework did not lend itself well to my data, and would perhaps be more suited for quantitative analysis. I went back to my data with a more inductive approach, and decided a better way to analyse it was in terms of changing perceptions of the local, such as local and place-based relationships, including those with outsiders, nature, and the mine itself; as well as perceptions of potential futures with and without mining, as articulated through these perceptions. I reworked my coding in NVivo where necessary, using new themes as they emerged, in order to restructure my data to more closely fit these themes. Each time, I would export the NVivo coded data on specific themes and sub-themes, and make sense of them in individual word files, selecting individual quotes that I felt most conveyed a certain message, and seeing what the women discussed most in relation to a certain topic. Using Guillemin and Drew (2010)'s recommendation, I have analysed the maps and the words spoken about them simultaneously, seeing them as a coherent whole. All these processes eventually led to the chapters as they are now. With each rewriting, my analysis has continued, and sometimes, new things would suddenly jump out at me, leaving entire sections rewritten as a result. This at times got very messy, things got moved around a lot, and everything always invariably took much longer than I thought it would.

A notion that I felt particularly came forward in the women's accounts was their communication of the opening of the mine as a distinct cut-off point in time, used as a tool to describe how things as they had known them had changed. This division of time into a 'before', a 'now', and an 'after' is very central in my data analysis chapters, as women employed it across the various themes. I recognise that this focus on perceptions of time, and its centrality in the remainder of my thesis, represents a particular approach to presenting my data, reflecting my interest in change and how it is interpreted in the local context (originally tied to the notion of livelihoods). This interest has driven my initial

and follow-up questions in interviews; e.g. as evidenced in my conversation with Camilla on p.113, where I pick up on her brief mention of 'miners' to see if she relates particular events to having been a result of the mine. As such, 'temporality' and temporal connections, was one potential focus out of several I may have chosen during that interview, and in this thesis as a whole. The choice to focus on conceptualisations of the difference between 'before' and 'now' in this thesis, however, is not something I arrived at lightly; I did not start structuring the women's accounts into 'before'/'now' and 'after' until I had combed through the data repeatedly and rigorously. As I did so, it occurred to me that this particular contrast was drawn by every women interviewed, and was therefore a consistent throughout my data (e.g. Laura's quotes on p.110, Clara's on p.149, where the women brought up the distinction organically, as well as Laura's on p.160, explaining why the contrast is important to activists). Furthermore, the distinction between 'before' and 'now' was brought up in many meetings I attended, where, of course, the agenda was not set by me, and as mentioned previously, I largely stayed out of conversations. Finally, it is evidenced in how several women chose to highlight their 'before' and 'after' realities of mining in their maps without having been prompted to do so particularly (e.g. maps 1, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10 on pages 137, 145, 163, 165, 167 and 169, respectively). As it was repeatedly utilised by each of them, I felt the distinction in time emerged from the data as important to the women, and was therefore a useful and necessary tool for analysing their perceptions of its impacts.

Sultana (2007) argues that especially in Global South settings, it is important to continue examining ethics and power structures before, during and after conducting fieldwork. In this process, as well, we see another ethical problem inherent in trying to do feminist research. As Sangster (1994) points out, we can follow the principles to make our research conduct as feminist as possible, to remain as truthful as we can to the accounts given to us by other women, and provide them access to our findings, however the decision of what gets published and what does not remains with the researcher. Furthermore, in highlighting a quote it becomes disassociated from its context, and I have tried to as closely as possible describe this context where relevant to ensure the reader understands why someone said what they said, or what they were referring to. During the interview, the researcher has the power to control the conversation; during analysis, the researched controls information is used in the final product, and what gets left out based on her interpretation of what was said (McDowell, 1992; Radcliffe, 1994). Sangster (1994) particularly highlights the issue of whose 'truth' gets represented if the

researcher and researched interpret certain aspects of the researched's life differently. I am the one who ultimately decided on which themes and quotes to centre in this work, and they may not always be the ones the women themselves would have chosen as the most important. In the end, each interview, experience, and the fieldwork as a whole was just a snapshot of other people's lives, and all I can try to do is remain as closely to what I interpret to be the most important themes and quotes as possible. Furthermore, I hope the maps, and the freedom the women were given in drawing them, puts a little more of their individual stories and priorities into this work.

4.5.1 Issues of translation

Another important issue that must be discussed in this regard is that of language. As I mentioned before, Quechua is not widely spoken in Cajamarca (Li, 2013; Starn, 1991). Spanish was the first language of all the women I came in contact with. However, it is my third; a language I mostly learned in adulthood: I had taken Spanish in school but done little with it afterwards. Upon accepting the PhD position, I began (re-)learning it through a combination of classes (including, as mentioned before, an intensive course in Arequipa), private study and practice with friends. As a result, I arrived in Cajamarca with a good understanding of the language. However, when conducting research based on people's stories and lived experiences, there are language considerations beyond simply knowing what the words mean. It is inevitable that I have misunderstood nuances, words with several potential meanings and idioms. This is argued by Smith (1996), who discusses how even in one's own language, it is hard to be confident that you have completely understood the meaning of another's words; obviously, this is further complicated by speaking in a foreign language, in a different culture. Smith (1996) furthermore discusses the issue of translation, highlighting that while many words have a clear and direct translation, many do not. This is important to consider in the context of translating quotes from the interviews, where the researcher has to choose which option to use; as well as in the thesis as a whole, which relies on an English interpretation of data collected in Spanish. Müller (2007) highlights how in this sense, translating goes beyond simply finding the right word in the given context, actively reinforcing the powerful position of the researcher:

"[translation] becomes political by re-articulating meaning as valid vis-à-vis other possible meanings, thus eliding the fundamental polyvalency of expressions in the source language." (p.208)

While Smith (1996) writes from a position where English is the researcher's first language, Müller (2007) acknowledges academics who, like myself, translate from and to languages that are not their own; in what he refers to as '*constant juggling between three or more languages and, concomitantly, between cultures*' (p.206). After all, although Peru is obviously much more foreign for me than England, eating mushy peas seems about as outlandish to me as eating guinea pig, and also in the UK, occasionally I construe myself, or am construed by others, as a 'stranger'. Linguistically, while I have little trouble switching from Dutch to English or Spanish, Spanish to English proved more difficult at times; and being in a Spanish speaking environment for so long compromised some of the 'ease' with which I spoke English, which I had until then taken for granted.

In order to stay close to the source material while writing up, I coded and analysed the data in Spanish, and translated only what is used here in my thesis. Temple and Young (2004) highlight how the balancing act of translation and language still often go overlooked in academia. They are generally treated as one of the invisible, necessary side aspects of knowledge production; rather than a central way in which the researcher is actively involved in meaning-production and representing others. As the researcher determines how the words of the participants are interpreted, the translation process should be approached carefully and thoughtfully. Similar to the decision of which quotes to use, how to use those quotes, then, through translation becomes an ethical issue. Again, this is a problem that must be considered, but cannot be fully overcome, as meaning inevitable gets lost or is at risk of being misinterpreted in the act of translation. In the first place, by me as the researcher, and in the second place, by the reader who is presented with translations and without the auditory context of the recording, the experience of having been present at the interview or knowledge of the person in question. I have attached the original quotes in Spanish in Appendix III to negate this to some extent. Müller (2007) furthermore suggests that instead of aiming to improve our translations by "achieving a higher degree of equivalence", we should aim to keep intact the original political meaning of what is being translated. I found this difficult, initially, as I was trying to translate the women I spoke to as literally as possible, to make sure I stayed close to their original words. Upon rewriting, I have edited my translations where I felt it was necessary and possible to more closely capture the meaning of what was said, rather than the absolute direct translation, while still staying close to it. Müller (2007) further suggests negating some of the difficulty of translation with the 'holus-bolus' approach; keeping a difficult to translate word in the source language, providing an

explanation in the target language, rather than trying to capture the whole meaning of a foreign concept in just one word. I have done this with terms such as *campesino*, *Cajamarquina* and *Rondero*, among others, found in the glossary.

A final consideration related to this, highlighted by Desbiens and Ruddick (2006), is the potential for exclusion inherent in using English as an academic lingua franca. This is important to think about in the context of this research, where the English outputs will be inaccessible to the participants that have made this work possible. I have tried to overcome some of this power imbalance by giving the participants access to the written transcriptions of their interviews, and keeping an open line of communication with them where possible (by WhatsApp or e-mail after leaving Peru). However, I received no further feedback on the contents or other suggestions from the women regarding their interviews.

4.6 Concluding thought

Ultimately, it is my feeling of responsibility to the women of Cajamarca, on account of all the time, wisdom, friendship, hospitality and patience they have shared with me during my fieldwork, that has been a big motivator in the finishing of this thesis. Hopefully, in the future it will be possible to return to Cajamarca to discuss the data and what I have done with it since leaving the field, and bring more transparency to the research process. Furthermore, it is my aim to create a Spanish text for the organisations that highlight what I have taken away from my experience with them and what findings I have discussed in my thesis. Nevertheless, a sense of guilt remains over the question of how much I can give back. It is in this context that I heed the words of Geiger (1990) who states when working with women living under difficult circumstances, we should remain realistic and honest about what we can achieve. We cannot fundamentally change their lives, but we may have the power to influence how their lives are “*interpreted, appreciated, and understood*” (p. 180). Sosulski et al. (2010) echo this sentiment, stating what makes them regard their work as feminist is the opportunity they have to contribute to academic knowledge with marginalised women’s own accounts of their lives and experiences. I hope that in this way this research may contribute to discussions on the specific circumstances and challenges women face in the context of large scale extractivism, and to raise their profile as a distinct group of stakeholders, with their own set of needs and experiences.

5. Women's perceptions of the mine as an interruption of place-attachment, belonging and continuity

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to critically explore how relationships between people, and between people and place are negotiated and re-negotiated in the context of the changes associated with the coming of the Yanacocha mine. The Yanacocha mine started its operations in 1993, in other words, within living memory. As outlined before, open-pit mining is associated with a wide range of environmental and health impacts; loss of land; migration and change of local values (Cronjé et al., 2013; Kitula, 2006; Monjezi et al., 2009; Narrei and Osanloo, 2015; Sosa and Zwarteveen, 2012). Many of the women I interviewed were adults when the mine opened, and offer their first-hand accounts of the way their region, cities, towns and communities have changed in the last roughly twenty-five years. While a certain wistfulness for the past is a well-documented human phenomenon, referred to in psychology as '*rosy retrospection*' or '*rosy remembrance*' (Norman, 2009), the coming of the mine gives the Cajamarcan women a very specific and exact turning point as a tool to communicate where the 'good old days' (referred to as 'before') ended and present day ('now') began. In this chapter and the next, I will show different ways in which the women's narratives of the 'before' paint a picture of a simpler time; while they would acknowledge in some areas improvements may have been made since then, the 'before' continues to be the model for the 'now', holding the 'now' to a standard it cannot quite live up to.

As I outlined in chapter 3, sense of place and place-attachment have a temporal dimension; there is the time needed to form the connection, the actions that are ascribed meaning in this context, and the notion of continuity of place and self from past towards future are interlinked (Gifford and Kestler, 2008; Himley, 2014; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). The women's conceptualisation of time is an important factor for analysing how they understand the entity of the mine as having had a disruptive influence on their lives and the physical and emotional places in which they occur. Interpretations of the past are vital in such connections; in section 5.2, I will use these concepts to analyse how the women define what it means to be Cajamarcan and what Cajamarca means to them; providing a first indication of the things they consider to be under threat as a result of the coming of the mine.

When the women speak about the 'now', broadly speaking this encompasses the time since the mine came to Cajamarca, and incorporates all the changes that have happened since, be they directly related to the mine or not. In section 5.3, I will explore the women's accounts of the familiar becoming strange in this context. One of the ways the mine is framed as an outsider, is through its literal coming from 'the outside' – the foreign, the global North. In other words, it is considered a symbol of western modernity. I critically explore how the mine itself comes to embody much wider forces of modernisation, globalisation and neoliberalism, and the associated ways of thinking; I will go on to argue that this leads to a blurring of the line between changes brought by the mine, changes caused indirectly by the mine, and changes that occur independently from it.

In section 5.4, I further analyse how relationships in Cajamarca have changed since the coming of the mine, as a result of the fluidity and changing nature of the notions of 'in/outsider'. I argue that the mine has caused relationships, and perceptions of relationships, between people to change, leading to a loss in trust and values that were held central and important and thereby affecting some of their core understandings of what it means to belong in Cajamarca.

Then, in section 5.5, I focus on the countryside; first of all through urban women's changing perspectives of the countryside, highlighting another way in which the mine might cause relationships to change and alliances to shift. Second, I critically explore how some of the women who grew up in rural areas conceptualise changes they have observed in the villages they are from; drawing parallels between rural and urban meaning-making and meaning-shifts as a result of the coming of the mine.

5.2 On being Cajamarcan

When I went into my first interview, I sat down, discussed the informed consent form and asked the interviewee if she had any questions. Then, with her permission, I turned on my recorder and asked: "*If you are comfortable sharing, how old are you?*". Her answer was: "*I am Cajamarquina, I am a teacher, I am in my forties.*" These were the very first words someone else spoke on my recorder; "*I am Cajamarquina.*" Because, when asked to describe herself or introduce herself in any way – even when the question was regarding her age rather than anything else – this was the first thing that she wished to communicate. She continued:

"I say it with a lot of pride, that I am Cajamarquina. Because, when I was a girl, I already felt Cajamarquina. All my life – I did my studies here, my family is here, I have my work here, ... I am Cajamarquina." (#1)

As I have explored in chapter 3, scholars such as Gustafson (2001); Rishbeth and Powell (2013); Scannell and Gifford (2010) outline place-attachment as the emotional bonds through which people feel emotional and physical connections to places, often those associated with 'home', which can lead to the place becoming part of one's identity and sense of belonging through 'place-identity'. This quote gives a prime example of this: she makes a start of qualifying what she thinks makes her a *Cajamarquina*: the fact that she has grown up there, the fact that she still lives there – but while making her summation, she quickly reverts back to "*I am Cajamarquina*". Not only did the reasons seem obvious to her, she also seems to be drawing on a feeling that goes beyond 'easy to sum up' reasons – if she had gone to study elsewhere, would her feeling of being *Cajamarquina* have been any less? I would argue not. She seems to be drawing from a sense of being *Cajamarquina* as part of her core identity; of her feeling as if she belongs in this place more than elsewhere. These narratives of being *Cajamarquina*, and belonging in Cajamarca, I argue, are central to women's reactions to the mine and all its associated impacts. It is one of the big driving forces pushing them to react, through which they understand and negotiate the changes they observe and place them in a historical context. Therefore, it is at the core of the politics of belonging, and discussing who is an in- or outsider. The coming of the mine has led the women to look inside at what they consider it means to be a *Cajamarquina*; as well as 'what Cajamarca is', itself. In this section, I look at how the women articulate the perceived disruption of belonging in Cajamarca through values and ancestry, using the past as a resource to communicate continuity and disruption. Through these narratives, we get an inkling of the rupture the mine has come to represent: the one between the actual present, and the present that 'should have been', if the mine had never come.

Similar to the example outlined above, many other women spoke to me about their position as *Cajamarquinas*; proclaiming their love for the area they are from – be it the city or their rural community in particular, or the region of Cajamarca as a whole. In this section, I focus on urban women; such as Sandra (58, Cajamarca), who also told me how much she loved Cajamarca city:

Sandra: "We are here in Cajamarca, and Cajamarca is beautiful, it's lovely, and that's why we've decided to stay here. In spite of so many difficulties and

problems, that we always face, right? But... we decided to stay here, close to my mother, and we're in a little house, where I've lived since I was born. [...] Cajamarca is beautiful, our land is beautiful. Its blue sky [...] it seems like a different world here, doesn't it? Because... I know many places: Ica, Arequipa, Moquegua, Chiclayo, but... nothing is similar to Cajamarca. Nothing is like Cajamarca; even if they offered me a lot of money, I wouldn't go to any of these places, this is the only place I'd be. Yes. Because it's a different atmosphere here, a different kind of city. Very beautiful. Very beautiful."

Inge: "So, what is it you like most about Cajamarca?"

Sandra: "Well, in Cajamarca there are many [good] things, for example, its climate, its... its people. Its friendly people, we're very dependable, right? And also, for example, its agriculture, its cattle raising, that we have a lot of." (#2)

When asked to explain why she is so fond of Cajamarca, one of the first things that comes to Sandra's mind are the people and the positive qualities she ascribes to them. This highlights the communal aspects of place-identity and belonging and their ties with cultural practice, values and history (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Next, Sandra highlights agriculture and animal husbandry, the income-generating activities traditionally associated with the Cajamarca region, which, within Peru, is famous for its cheeses (Bury, 2004). It is, not unimportantly, the way of life that was most common 'before' the mine came, and that is seen as being under threat by the mine. This sums up two of the central notions that are used in constructing the '*Cajamarquina/o*' – values and way of life as based on personal and regional ancestry. The notion of what Cajamarca is and what it means to be *Cajamarquina/o* are co-created and mutually reinforcing. In order to construct them, the women often drew on pleasant, warm memories from childhood, and a sense of being embedded in, and understanding, the local culture. Furthermore, personal history, family ties, a connection with the place, its customs, values and wider histories is what make people feel like they belong, what keeps them bound to a place in times of adversity, as well as, in most cases, informing some of the driving forces in their reasons for taking part in anti-mining activism. The values of community, hard work and hospitality were then often contrasted in the 'before' and the 'now', to help me understand more clearly what Cajamarca, and *Cajamarquina/os* had been like in the women's youth. Clara (48, Cajamarca), for example, talked about the old custom of hosting parties for national and religious holidays:

"We had the festivities for the patron saints¹⁹, the festivities for the saints²⁰, I couldn't even begin to give you an idea of [what] the festival of the crosses²¹ [was like], my mum said: 'we worked for a year, to have a big party, to which everyone

¹⁹ Fiestas patronales.

²⁰ Fiestas de los santos.

²¹ Fiestas de las cruces.

from the neighbouring communities will come, and eat...' everyone ate, and the servants made sure that nobody, big or small, was left without food. And those that had family members that they had left at home, took the 'chana' – that's what we call it, chana is a Quechua word, that means the surplus for those that stay at home, that couldn't come. So, they took their food to them, they took their candy. So, apart from leaving well fed, they also took [food] with them." (#3)

Furthermore, the notions of abundance, hospitality and sharing take a central role in other women's stories as well. Valeria (50, Cajamarca) explains:

"This is how our land [region] was before; for example, my mum: when they [strangers] would stumble across us having lunch: 'take, take!', and she would stand there: 'eat, eat!' We didn't deny food to anyone." (#4)

These narratives tie together to give an idea of the values held in highest regard by the women I spoke to: hospitality, hard work, living well, being friendly and reliable, community and reciprocity, which tend to be highly valued in Andean cultures in general, and by Andean women in particular (Allen, 1981; Bury, 2002, 2004; Forstner, 2013; Gudynas, 2011; Radcliffe et al., 2003). If such values of reciprocity and sharing were taken as a given in the before, they have become more visible and appreciated on reflection of the 'now', where they can no longer to be taken for granted. This is illustrated by Julia (62, Cajamarca), who explains:

"We lived in harmony, right? Because, they²² also practically gave us this example and... she²³ liked strangers [...] if they come to my house while I am having lunch, I make them come in and I give them a plate of food, right? And that is my... our custom, right? They can't take that from us. And, well, while... while we can we have to do it. Yes." (#5)

Julia explains how she struggles to continue to uphold good customs in the present day. The way she presents it shows it is a difficulty for her, and that she feels it is under threat to be taken away from her; she must do it while she can. This means that at least for her, customs do not only change because people become more uncaring, or copy customs from elsewhere. Instead, they are actively under threat due to the cultural changes associated with the diversification of the population with people coming from elsewhere as a result of the mine. Yet, similarly to Sandra who says she remains in Cajamarca despite all the difficulties the mine has brought, Julia voices a resilience in carrying on with her life as she has always done: she stands behind the customs as they are, and wishes to uphold them while she can. In this way, they are showing the kind of everyday resistance that comes through in small actions that challenge authority (Jenkins, 2017;

²² Older generations.

²³ Her mother.

Scott, 1986; Starn, 1991); which, in this case, comes in the form of a new 'way of life' becoming dominant, which I will explore in more detail further on. The 'insiders' of Cajamarca city, then, are conceptualised as living a certain kind life, that is incompatible with the coming of the mine, both in their own view, and in that of the mine, that tries to displace them or change their customs. These women often see their 'Cajamarcan-ness' as part of their core identity; an unchanging fact independent of the impositions from the outside; yet, usually combined with a sense of longing for the Cajamarca city as it was before. In these narratives, they come to construct their sense of 'insidership', as 'belonging in' the city. For example, several women told me that historically, Cajamarca was a peaceful and quiet region of the country, inhabited by calm, friendly and 'innocent' people. They spoke to me about how in fact, the inhabitants are not naturally inclined to protest or challenge the status quo, but rather just want to get on with living a peaceful life. Consider, for example, words by Laura (50, Cajamarca) and Sandra (58, Cajamarca):

"Cajamarca was as calm, as innocent as a three or four year old child. We didn't know what a mine, or a company, was." (Laura) (#6)

"Really, I would say the protests have had a good outcome. Because Cajamarca has always been a quiet place, didn't say anything, didn't ask for anything." (Sandra) (#7)

As noted before, in mining conflicts, communities might make use of the past in strategic ways (Himley, 2014). Cajamarca is framed by the women as a place that was quiet and peaceful, a place where the anti-Conga movements were technically out of place, and would never have happened had there not been some extreme reason, something that pushed even these quiet and peaceful people into having no choice but to say 'enough' and 'no more'. Cajamarca's past, then, is constructed almost as a place before the fall of innocence, the coming of the mine representing the fall from grace. Consider this in relation to Luisa (45, Cajamarca)'s words:

"Because, well, we lived happily and content, we didn't think that a person from the outside was going to come and was going to drag everything down... but now we have our eyes wide open." (#8)

Luisa contrasts the living of a happy and good life *Cajamarquinos* had done 'before', with the interruption that came from 'outside', making it impossible to continue living as they had. Being 'Cajamarcan', then, is constructed to have been easier in the 'before': when peace and quiet was a normal part of everyday life. The 'now', then, is experienced in

this tense relationship with ‘others’ – that drag everything down – those that work in the mine, and those that are perceived to aspire to the kind of lifestyle that comes with it. I will focus now on how these differences are articulated in various ways.

5.3 Urban narratives of the familiar becoming strange

As I outlined, all of the Cajamarcan women I spoke to, to some extent, associated the way of life before the mine came with a simpler time; in this section, I will look more specifically at the various ways in which this ‘before’ was disrupted by it. This is evidenced through their beliefs that hard work no longer paid off, hospitality was disrupted by a steady incoming stream of outsiders with different customs, living well was complicated by pollution, amongst others. The influence and impacts of ‘the outsider’ begin to take shape in the narratives surrounding these issues, essentially arising out of the conflicts of interests between the mining companies and the local population. This has an emotional component, as well, as people consider their way of life to be under threat by ‘outsiders’, that do not belong, coming and ruining Cajamarcan society. As explored before, change from the outside can cause communities to fear loss of way of life and ‘sense of self’ (Cohen, 1985, p. 109). This potential for change to affect, diminish or disappear ‘sense of self’ is of course related to place-attachment and identity, a fragile balance that can be disturbed when the familiar is made strange, causing a ‘misfit’ between place, belonging, identity and attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). These factors highlight why in Cajamarca, change is regarded with such mistrust, and why the figure of the ‘outsider’ takes shape against the backdrop of an idea of a specific Cajamarca; idyllic and friendly. This way of speaking allows the women to draw a sharp contrast between in- and outsiders, ‘before’ and ‘now’, and outline that which does not ‘fit’. As outlined so far, some of the main difficulties the women struggle with is the perceived loss of local culture and values that were rooted in their sense of place, and the coming of a way of life they consider being opposed on them from the outside. In this section, I will look in more detail at how the familiar becomes strange; for the urban women, this is often one of their main points of contention with the mine.

I theorise that the mine is considered by these women to impose a certain kind of modernisation on them: an idea of development coming from elsewhere, ‘outside’, looking to alter their way of living in ways that are unwanted. The mine becomes the bringer of this modernisation, and the driving force behind it, as it symbolises an abrupt rupture in time. After all, in the case of Yanacocha, change came quickly and abruptly,

and a lot of current discourse on ‘modernisation’ and ‘development’ is condensed around this one event and point in time. In a case in Southern Peru, Hinojosa (2013) notes that the communities she studied blamed falling agricultural income on a nearby large scale mine affecting their access to water; however, she comments that the falling income may be linked to other factors, such as market fluctuations. Similarly, I argue, many of the women use the mine as a ‘scapegoat’ for observed changes that they do not like. This is due, in part, to the powers the women ascribe to the mine, and how they interpret its abilities of disrupting their sense of time, place and community. Laura (50, Cajamarca), for example, invited me for a cup of coffee with her family, after an intensive two and a half hour interview where she outlined many of the negative changes she felt the mine had brought to her, the city, and the natural environment. As she put the kettle on, she commented that all water needs to be boiled now to be fit for human consumption, then turned to me and joked:

“Everything that happens to me now, it’s because of the mine. If my cat were to die, it would be because of the mine!” (#9)

I interpreted her joke as her way of letting off steam after discussing some difficult topics, but also as her recognition that narratives of the impact of the mine are fluid, and that, in some ways, precisely because we cannot know what life would have been like without the mine, it does not matter if things change as a direct result of the mine or not. The cat may eventually die of old age, or it may die from complications of drinking polluted water; Schrödinger’s mine both poisons and does not poison the cat. This illustrates that due to the nature of the mine’s impacts as both direct and indirect, happening and potentially happening, they become socially constructed in women’s narratives of the ‘before’ and ‘now’, relating to all aspects of their lives.

5.3.1 Importing outside values

The most obvious ‘outsiders’ are non-Cajamarcans that support the coming of the mine. These can take many different shapes: the person from the coastal region, or abroad, working for the mine, the politician from Lima that has lied, the person from the Amazon region looking to profit from the miners’ higher salaries, and of course, the company itself. The miner, of course, is a central outsider in all of this; however, ‘miner’ is a fluid, undefined category with no fixed boundaries. Therefore, in this work, I will refer to ‘mine-worker’ for those people working for the mine directly, and use ‘miner’ (*minero*) to refer to a broader category, identified by Li (2013), including politicians, police men, private

citizens and others that support the coming of the mine. Elizabeth (42, Celendín) speaks about the feeling of betrayal and being lied to by international companies, and how this has warped her view of the people work for them:

“So, we don’t want them to come here so easily, polluting everything, with the same lie about gold. Because to us, they are mercenaries, they are... they don’t have a soul anymore, they don’t feel. They don’t care how many people suffer, or anything.” (#10)

The company is shaped by its lack of caring for the suffering of the *Cajamarquina*los, and this lack of caring, in turn, has turned the ‘miners’ into lesser people for Elizabeth, people that have lost their souls. Having the wrong values, then – i.e., valuing money over people – alters the foundation of a person. As a logical consequence of the mine coming from abroad, foreigners in particular are distrusted. Laura (50, Cajamarca) explained to me that for a while, she and many others wanted nothing to do with any type of foreigner, because they started to believe that anything that came from ‘outside’ (*afuera*)/far (*lejos*)’ was bad. She said:

“Like I told my other [foreign] friend as well, I told her, ‘I’m sorry to be so direct, but if you had come at another time, we wouldn’t have received you.’ Because we were so resentful, [we felt] that all the people from other parts only came to do us harm. But now we see that it’s not like that. [...] we have faith again, and we began to believe, that not just the bad comes from the outside, but there are good people too.” (#11)

There is hope then, still, that outsiders can contribute in a good way, or be good people, but for understandable reasons, overall, the women have learned to be mistrustful of strangers. The new-comers and the impact of the mine in terms of the kind of lifestyle associated with it, are put in sharp contrast with local customs and traditions, and here the distrust of the ‘outsider’ is made visible. As Alejandra (52, Bambamarca) sums up:

“It’s brought strangers. We don’t know what kind of people they are.” (#12)

As I will explore now, these outsiders are seen as bringing with them their own sets of values, that drastically alter the women’s everyday lives. The perceived cultural changes in the community may lead to increased xenophobia amongst the original residents as migrants place increasing demands on social services, infrastructure and dwindling natural resources, while introducing new social values (Bury, 2002; Cronjé et al., 2013; Eftimie et al., 2009). Many women mentioned problems of increased alcoholism, drug abuse, gambling, prostitution and crimes, and the associated decline in trust and social

capital between people across the region, changing Cajamarca city's atmosphere into what Bury (2005) describes as that of a frontier town. These perceived negative influences and consequences are constructed to already have existed on the 'outside', but not in Cajamarca itself; they are brought into the region along with the outsiders, through their different customs and ideas. As Luisa (45, Cajamarca) said:

"We wouldn't want our city to become like Chiclayo, like Trujillo, where there are these... robbers for hire, right?" (#13)

She places the city of Cajamarca in a contrast with two cities on the coast that she associates with higher crime levels; worrying that Cajamarca will follow the same trend the more it opens itself up to processes of 'development' and modernisation. Luisa is using, here, the implicit contrast between the less traditional, more modernised coast, and the more 'traditional' mountains (Coxshall, 2010; Orlove, 1993). As Stratford (2009) argued, the connection between people and place can be put under pressure if that which belongs is replaced by something that does not belong. It is, then, not just the physical mine itself that does not belong in the region, nor simply the people that it has brought along. Instead, it is the way of life that is associated with the coming of the mine, in other words, the indirect impacts, such as highlighted by Laura (50, Cajamarca):

"Yes, Yanacocha has brought us that, because look, before when I told you the city used to be small, there were no petty thieves, there were no prostitutes [...] the problem is with... with the coming of Yanacocha, [with it] prostitution has come, robberies, they have come from other cities [...] I tell you sincerely, that in Cajamarca there aren't a lot of pickpockets, some, but there's no pickpockets, where they have pickpockets is in... eh... elsewhere, Chiclayo, Trujillo,... they come from there, and especially to ruin Cajamarca." (#14)

She very specifically links the increased social problems she observes, to the mine. She also indicates her belief that people moving in from other parts do so with a particular intent to 'ruin' Cajamarca – a clear indication of how distrustful some of Cajamarca's long term residents have become of people moving in from outside. At the core of a lot of what the women are communicating is a sense of power imbalance; it is difficult to halt or control the many unwanted changes that the mine brings to their lives, and the social forces driving it. As Cohen (1985) describes:

"The inclination of an 'ethnic' group to assert its cultural integrity is clearly stimulated by more than just a well-developed collective self-consciousness. [...] it follows from more than mere contrast with other groups. Often, it seems to follow from a sense of disadvantage, or subordination." (p.104)

Both Luisa and Laura place the city of Cajamarca in a contrast with two cities on the coast that they associate with higher levels of crime and social ills; worrying that Cajamarca will follow the same trend the more it opens itself up to processes of ‘development’ and modernisation associated with the mine. As a result, as Cajamarca is pushed to become less traditional and more engrained in processes of globalisation and modernisation – like the cities of Chiclayo and Trujillo – these women see a simultaneous trajectory to the negative things that are more prevalent in those cities, such as crime. They does not think this is a good trade-off, and for many women, it represents a double negative of losing both culture and traditional values (to modernisation) and safety (to crime).

Taken together, this means that the mine’s outsider status is represented in various ways; apart from its physical presence (explored in the next chapter), it brings both outsiders and outsider values to Cajamarca. I would argue that it is not just the outsiders themselves that are seen as bringing these values, but rather the mine itself through what it stands for; it being considered as a symbol of a particular kind of western modernity, globalisation and development, and all the values and disruptions of the local that this represents. In other words, it does not necessarily matter to the women if something is a direct impact of the mine, an indirect impact of it, or to some extent independent of it: the mine comes to embody the central entity they consider themselves to be ‘against’, relating to the changes and disruptions they observe in their everyday life. In the remainder of this section, I will highlight some examples of this.

5.3.1.1 Nightclubs and supermarkets

The increased monetary influx to the city associated with the coming of the mine, the import of highly skilled workers from elsewhere, and the standard of living they expect, is considered by the women to have harmful and world-altering effects on living in the city. The interpretation of the person that works for the mine is that of a rich person, flashing their wealth through cars and swimming pools, living a very different life to the average person that has lived in Cajamarca all their lives:

“they are rich, millionaires, with cars, with this, with that” (Clara, 48, Cajamarca) (#15)

The specialised work-force, imported mostly from the coastal region of Peru and abroad, brought with them a demand for the goods and services that they were accustomed to.

As a result, Cajamarca became a more attractive market for nightclubs, international chain-stores and supermarkets (Arteaga, 2015; Steel, 2013). The women see these as constructed, in the first place, for the mine-workers, and secondly, for local people starting to aspire to a certain way of life that was not available before. Nightclubs in particular come to represent both a disruption in values and in safety, as for many of the women, they are synonymous with sites of alcoholism, drugs, too much partying, as well as violence and prostitution. Laura (50, Cajamarca) told me about a conversation she had had about a young man that had recently been killed in a nightclub:

“... I told her: ‘that is the development of the mine, the nightclub has to do with the mine, yes ladies and gentlemen, it has a lot to do with it’. Because Cajamarca never had a nightclub. The nightclubs have arrived with these transnationals, with the money; to a nightclub go those who have money.” (#16)

It is notable, again, how she links changes – the coming of nightclubs, in this case – directly to the coming of the mine and the type of economic ‘development’ associated with it. This type of development, as I will further explore in chapter 7, is perceived by the women not to fit in Cajamarca, which is why, as evidenced by Laura’s quote, it leads to violence and death. Similar to nightclubs, shopping malls are associated with money, and fulfilling the demands of those who have it. Of course, not all local people are opposed to such things, which has led to a shift in the way Cajamaricans go about their shopping, as Camila (35, Cajamarca) describes:

“The people... because they want to be seen in the supermarket, buying, with a card,... because they see it like that... if you’re walking in the shopping mall, if you buy clothes there, you have money. It changes the culture. It changes part of our culture. I have to go shop in el Quinde²⁴, because if I don’t go shop in el Quinde, I don’t have money. [...] why would I go and buy clothes in, in... San Antonio²⁵, for example, right? I have to go to el Quinde, in el Quinde they sell good clothes. I hand over my card. So, what [happens]? Bit by bit, the people change part of their culture, whether you like it or not.” (#17)

As outlined before, changing values may be brought by outsiders; however, then, they do not remain confined to them; as they spread into the wider population through all sorts of social changes, including the increased reliance on a monetary economy and the associated status symbols. The opening of shopping malls and supermarkets, then, for Camila, become tangible representations of the loss of an ‘own’ culture – she refers to them as ‘European culture’ instead. The local markets, where local people, particularly *campesinos*, come to sell their produce, falls out of favour as it does not attain the same

²⁴ A shopping mall in Cajamarca.

²⁵ The biggest market halls and street market in Cajamarca.

status to be seen there. While the mine does not directly push local people to go to shopping malls instead of the local market, both of these things represent a certain kind of lifestyle; one falling out of favour over the other shows a shift in what people aspire to, linking in with urbanisation and modernisation. Camila's quote about people willingly changing parts of their culture also suggests that while for the women opposing the mine, and the wider movements associated with defence of the local and the particular (such as the *Rondas Campesinas*), conservation of old values is important, this may not be true for the wider population at large (see section 7.2.2: the case of Natalia). The changes associated with modernisation can be an unstoppable force, that some may welcome, and others may feel no need to resist. For Camila, the coming of the supermarkets and shopping malls represents an increased culture of materialism, which she associates with the coming of the mine:

Camila: *"I see it this way, part of our culture is going to the market. To buy stuff that... that people bring from higher up from... from the higher parts where, where they grow their potatoes²⁶, let's say, their yucca, to find it and buy it. But now, not anymore. What, what do they want to change? They bring the supermarket, allowing that... el Quinde grows, that, let's see, el Plaza²⁷ grows,... where you'll find everything [already] peeled, and they sell it to you for more money. The mine, the miners, what do they say? The authorities have allowed three large supermarkets,... why don't they improve the market we have here, for example? So that more people could go there? Why do they have to bring supermarkets?"*

Inge: *"And do you think it's because of the presence of the mine that now there are, like, that the supermarkets have come, ...?"*

Camila: *"Yes. Yes. I think so, because before it was not there, it did not exist. It did not exist until ... the first one that came, I think it was el Quinde, that was ten years ago. When the mine was already here for a while. That is to say, it wasn't there, it did not exist, it did not exist." (#18)*

Through her words, it becomes obvious that she sees the opening of the shopping malls as related to the coming of the Yanacocha mine, because they did not exist before the mine came. This is a prime example of how she relates something that happened after the mine came directly to the mine, and the larger changes associated with it. We cannot be sure if el Quinde, or other malls and supermarkets, would have opened in Cajamarca if it was not for the mine, or if they would have done so in the same timeframe and volume, but this is not what matters most to Camila; instead, she is using the mine to articulate all the changes she has seen that she does not agree with, and that she feels

²⁶ Much of the surrounding countryside is located higher up in the mountains from Cajamarca city.

²⁷ Another shopping mall in Cajamarca.

disrupt the local of Cajamarca by imposing a globalised, modernised and (in her words) 'European' design on the city.

5.3.1.2 Food

Another notable way in which the mine's disruption is framed is in the way women speak about food and food consumption in particular. If the coming of the mine is seen to have brought the big supermarkets to the city, these big supermarkets are seen to have brought unhealthy food from the outside, altering traditional relationships between people and food. Food and food traditions are very central to people's stories; not surprising as food is a key link in the value of reciprocity (Corr, 2002; Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017; Schaedel, 1988). More than once during an interview, I was told in great detail about the ins and outs of cheese production, or of preparing traditional types of soups and other dishes, of baking bread and cake; of festivities that included food; of abundance and the health benefits of food associated with the 'before'. Cajamarca was described as a place rich in food, where crops used to grow easily, as well as, of course, supporting a rich dairy production. I was encouraged to try out various kinds of dishes, sample certain kinds of food, and people were always happy to share or point out or just simply praise the health benefits of locally grown food. During my fieldwork, I noted several times how people would often talk about family members that were of, or had lived to, a very high age; into their nineties and beyond. I commented on this during conversations with different people, and I was always told it was because of the food these people ate; it was fresh, it was local, it was nutritious, it did not contain any preservatives and was not tampered with in any way. This resulted in people living a long life; in other words, the food not only kept people alive, but, it brought more life; being a source of longevity itself. This is then often contrasted with the food associated with the 'now'. Sandra (58, Cajamarca) talks about her mother, who is in her nineties:

"Yes, I think that, it depends on good nutrition, better living conditions, because, now I [...] I see a kiosk selling different products with preservatives, with different colourings... hundreds of types of sweets, of caramels [...] so, that's no longer a natural diet. With preservatives [...] it's a time of pure..., even the crisps are brought in wrapped, already fried, and in bags, in their bags... that's what I mean, before no [it wasn't like that], we ate potatoes... dried from the field. With huacatay²⁸, we ate it with corn flour soup [...] in so many ways, but ... more natural." (#19)

As it is traditionally women's tasks to prepare food for their families (Conger Lind, 1992; Forstner, 2013; Katz, 2003; Paulson, 2003), it is no wonder that this is both a particular

²⁸ A black mint sauce.

interest and a particular concern for them. Eva (54, Cajamarca) also relates the decline in health in Cajamarca to a change in eating habits:

“...to eat food we have never seen, never known, and now... those things in tins, packaged... all of this... it shocks us, it makes us ill, really.” (#20)

The last years have seen an increase of supermarkets, an increase of food sold in packets and tins, food that comes from ‘*afuera*’, outside. This food is not fresh, and it contains conservatives. Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) noted how *campesino* populations of Cajamarca interpreted certain food to build certain kinds of bodies, constituted through the connection of water and place. The narratives of these urban women suggest they consider food in a same way: that which is local is healthy for locals, as it is brought to them fresh, and fits in place: it is what they are meant to be eating. Outside food, on the other hand, is considered another negative turn of modernisation and therefore to be regarded with suspicion; this food from the outside is considered unhealthy, it can make people ill. Food, then, has also become a stranger; it is the food of outsiders, brought by outsiders (i.e., international supermarkets, international brands), rather than the local. While Eva and Sandra link the decline in health to wider changes associated with ‘modernisation’, rather than simply directly to the mine itself, Eva’s concerns for the mine’s impact are never far away:

“Now we can eat, for example, those that eat natural food, we’ll be here for a while, some time, maybe. But it no longer guarantees that it’s going to help us much, because the plants are also polluted.” (#21)

The perceived effects of mining on the quality of the available water of course leads to the notion that local food itself is also made less healthy. These days, I was told, people wouldn’t live as long as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers had lived, because they were no longer eating the right food. In other words, food stopped being a source of long life, through this two-fold effect of the mine bringing pollution on the one hand, altering the food, and modernisation (associated with the mine), on the other hand, by bringing with it supermarkets and their tins, packaging and preservatives; ‘outside’ food considered to have few health benefits. Thus, not only the new food that comes from the outside is unhealthy, but the food that was healthy ‘before’ becomes less healthy as well, highlighting another way in which the mine does not only bring the ‘strange’ from the outside, but also makes that which was already ‘inside’, strange.

5.3.1.3 Carnaval

As outlined in section 5.2, the things that Cajamarca is famed for in wider Peru were articulated by the women as particularities informing their sense of belonging; such as dairy production and their *fiestas patronales*. Another important identifier is the *carnaval*, as I will explore now. Cajamarca's *carnaval* is one of the most important annually recurring festivities for the region and the city, and the largest in Peru, and is thereby intrinsically tied to local culture and identity. It is, then, not surprising it was often used as a specific example of the familiar becoming strange and unsafe:

"Look, the carnaval for example, I, when I was young, we went out to sing – from family member to family member to family member. With a group of fifteen to twenty people, right? We went out feeling calm, because nothing ever happened to us. They didn't rob us, they didn't hit us, they didn't kill us, nothing. Now, some brazen people come, from the coast, that live in the shantytowns, they shout at you, they hit you, they insult you, they... now, you can't do anything. The carnaval has... it's become distorted. And it pains me a lot to say that, because before it was a lovely festival. [...] in 1992²⁹, we went out with all my cousins, eight, like fifteen people, and all of Cajamarca was walking around, and so we went on, singing, dancing [...] And all night we walked like that, singing, singing... but now, oh, no, it is scary to go out even [just] to the Plaza de Armas." (Luisa, 45, Cajamarca) (#22)

In Luisa's account, the *carnaval* before the mine came was safe, and shared with friends and family; through celebrating and singing together, they formed lasting attachments to each other and place. This is disrupted by the *carnaval* becoming a site of fear. It has become difficult to navigate due to the arrival of outsiders that have introduced a new layer of danger to it, and made it unrecognisable. These strangers, and the dangers they bring with them, are new to the *carnaval*, as they represent the new values (or the deterioration of old ones) that accompany the mine's presence. Camila (35, Cajamarca) also recalls the community aspects of *carnaval* and the sense of sharing the experience with each other in the 'before', and ties it into the changes she has observed:

"That the carnaval still continues is true. But... the carnaval has changed. It was part of our culture that you came to the city, to your spot, to watch the... the.. the parade, these activities, but without paying for it. So, because of the mine everything has become... the mine itself has provoked this. The mine itself made its stands, and sold them. So, now [...] now you, you go and watch it, but if you want to see it, you have to pay for the stand, 40 soles. Before no, before you came, you saved a seat, saved a seat, you didn't pay, you saved [the seat]. That's how it is. But not now, now I've seen, they see everything as a transaction. So, your culture, what does it do? Change. Your culture, this culture of having it for free, so that everyone can see, it changes now, now it has a... a price. 40 soles, 20 soles, so, it changes now." (#23)

²⁹ The year before Yanacocha started its production.

Camila, then, sees the mine as having infiltrated and altered the face of the tradition itself, through selling seats to watch the parade. I am not sure if it is the mining company that builds grandstand and galleries and sells seats, as Camila says, or if it is other enterprises – but her main argument, either way, concerns the disruption of the inclusivity of the *carnaval*. New mechanisms like the paid seating arrangements inhibit poorer people from taking in these local traditions with a long history; thereby, values of capitalism take place of values of community and sharing. Furthermore, Yanacocha was very visually present in the Cajamarcan *carnaval* parades of 2017 that I attended. For example, they sponsored groups of people in the parades, who wore t-shirts and hats with their logo on it. I watched some of the parades with Camila, and this physical reminder of the company clearly bothered her, as it is another way in which the company has made its way into the heart of a tradition that is dear to her. In this way, the mine, as a newcomer and an outsider, has changed the rules of the game in Camila's view, taking away the implicit community aspect of *carnaval* in favour of economic pursuits. These activities, cultural, performative, and/or traditional, are not lost and left in the past for good, rather, they have become to some extent unfamiliar in the present, and therefore highlight a disruption in place-continuity. This represents the wider shift in Cajamarcan local society going from the small, sleepy image the women paint of the Cajamarca 'before' the mine, to present day Cajamarca coming to be part of the kind of state-sanctioned 'modernity' associated with neoliberalism.

As I mentioned before, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to say what life in Cajamarca would be like in the present-day if the mine had never come. One could speculate that the neoliberal policies of especially post-civil war governments (e.g. Lust (2014)) would have brought several of the observed processes associated with modernisation, such as the opening of international shopping malls and supermarkets, to Cajamarca regardless. However, as evidenced by this section, it precisely because this remains in the realm of speculation that alternative presents without the mine are easily imagined, constructed through the women's notions of a continuation of subjective interpretations of the past. As noted, Cohen (1985) argues that the situations communities deal with in the present lead to particular social constructions of the past that fit the narratives needed in the now; I would additionally argue that this socially constructed past has become a strong force for framing of alternative presents – the present that could have been 'without' the mine. As the women are able to reduce the things they do not want or like to being a result of the mine, they are able to conjure up an either/or situation where the present without the

mine would have been altogether more pleasant. They argue that this would be so, as it would have been a continuation of their own way of life, based fundamentally on the values of community, sharing an reciprocity, which they base on both their personal pasts/childhoods, and the local past more generally, considering traditions and values passed down through generations. They pose that a continuation of the 'before' would have made more sense for the region overall, as it was theirs, and therefore belonged in place.

5.4 Insiders becoming outsiders

As shown so far, the mine is associated with an increased influx of outsiders and a spread of their outsider values, and women consider their daily lives directly altered by the influx of strangers in many ways. Another way in which they consider their lives altered results from yet another way in which the familiar becomes strange, notably in relationships. As was evidenced by Camila's words, Cajamarcans that align themselves with the kind of modernisation that the women see as brought by the mine, in other words, the people that support the mine, want to shop in shopping malls, and do not mind consuming strange food, go from being 'insiders' to 'outsiders'. As the women feel that values and trust between people are shifting; they argue that the coming of the mine has caused a fundamental disruption in their sense of place and 'belonging', where what was once taken for granted has become painfully absent. As a result, social capital in the city declines and there is a growing disinterest between within communities. This relates to Bury (2004) and Hinojosa (2013)'s findings of increased mistrust, conflict and decreased exchange and reciprocity between households in mining affected communities in the rural Peruvian Andes. For the urban women I spoke to, however, this was clearly associated with several concerns as well, which I will explore here.

5.4.1 Becoming strangers

Ana (42), related the changes the mine brings to Cajamarca city to a loss of neighbourliness. For her, this is a result of mine-workers moving in:

"Cajamarca was a city... well, smaller, with closer interpersonal relationships, I remember my street, we all knew each other, we visited this neighbour and that neighbour, for example... by comparison, for example, now my street is full of strangers, that come and go, because they've turned some of the houses into holiday houses, where the people that work in the mine have rooms. And now, these are people that aren't very close neighbours, right?" (#24)

For Laura (50, Cajamarca), the growing indifference between neighbours is a big negative as well:

“So, the detail that... since a while ago, everything began to change, neighbours don’t know each other. We don’t know – the same here – I go out ‘hello neighbour, good afternoon’, but if she has some kind of problem, I don’t care, and [vice versa] they don’t care either, because we all live in our own worlds. [...] Each one is like this, each one in their house, doing their chores, and no one cares about anyone. Whatever happens. So, that... that is very bad. That’s how I feel, that this is very bad.” (#25)

This is a big departure from the values of community and sharing with neighbours, strangers and friends alike as set out in section 5.2. While in broader literature, these values are generally associated with life in the countryside above all (Bury, 2002, 2005; Gudynas, 2013a), many urban women described sharing and reciprocity as a central value, at risk of being lost. The watering down of social relationships, for the women, means people become strangers to each other to an increasing degree as older ways of doing things fall out of favour. This means, then, that it is not necessarily simply people from the ‘outside’ that are the strangers; people from within the region can become ‘strange’ as well. As Laura (50, Cajamarca) describes:

“... the people weren’t, for us they weren’t strangers, they were like family, even if we didn’t know their name... when someone came, knocked on the door: ‘Excuse me, madam, I am lost/delayed, because my village is very far and I was caught in the rain, please give me accommodation.’ ‘Come in, sir, come in, have a rest!’ The best blanket, the best throw, we made soup... we made whatever. ‘Give it to him, the poor man, so that he can go to his land [home].’ Early the next day, his breakfast, and they went. So, tell me, this hurts us. Is it like that now? No.” (#26)

Before, she says, there ‘were no strangers’. While, again, it is clear Laura is invoking a particular notion of the past as a reaction to a certain situation in the present, (e.g. Cohen (1985) and Lowenthal (1975)), narratives like these show the intensity with which the difference is felt, and how it is painful it is for Laura to see social capital and reciprocity deteriorate. While the changes described here encompass a growing disinterest between neighbours, an increase in overall apathy and a loss of goodwill including between *Cajamarquina/os* themselves, the driving force for this still comes from the geographical ‘outside’ (i.e., not Cajamarca) – it is the mine and its perceived representatives who are considered the culprits. They are driving the increasing level of ‘strangeness’ felt between people in the region, as it is their customs, their alteration of

the social fabric that are understood to have made it so. They are the ones that, through the behaviour associated with them, show that they are out of place (Schein, 2009).

5.4.2 Losing trust

A loss of trust and sense of safety, of course, is related to some extent to the violence, betrayal, and ongoing threats employed by the police and military since before the time of heavy activism (Becerril, 2018). The women see the mine as being inherently dominant, as it has political and economic power on its side, and can use this in direct and indirect ways to divide and conquer the population. Some women described that the population of Cajamarca used to have a friendly, respectful relationship with the police. It is worth recalling here, of course, that Starn (1991) described a long history of rural *Cajamarquinos* distrusting the police, dating back at least to the time of Spanish colonialism. However, the relationships between urban *Cajamarquinos* and the police is not so well described, and as a result, it is difficult to say if the good relationship with the Cajamarcan police is part of the 'rosy remembrance' (Norman, 2009), a political act of rewriting the past in order to fit with narratives of the present (Cohen, 1985), or if the relationship was generally better in the city than in rural areas before. What is likely either way, is that the breach in trust resulted from the police and army's actions during the anti-Conga protests is both the most recent, and therefore strongly felt, and one of the largest in living memory, as it resulted directly in loss of life. The violence they inflicted upon the protesting population during the conflicts have led to the police and military to be seen as the right hand of the mining company, and therefore, having betrayed the activists. Valeria and Laura talk about this relationship of the Cajamarcan public with the police and the army:

"It's as if good manners didn't exist anymore. Before, on the way, wherever we went, we met [someone], we never considered them as a stranger, we all greeted each other, even the police. 'Good day, sir, good day, mister,' – everyone. But not anymore. Because, really, they have lent themselves to... they repress us, and they repress us with weapons... deadly weapons, so. They have taken our lives – in Bambamarca, Celendín,... it was the worst that could have happened." (Valeria, 50, Cajamarca) (#27)

"Now we don't have an army. Not anymore. They live in Cajamarca, some of them, that's the construction, the infrastructure, but they don't belong to us anymore. The same for the police. The police tried to kill us [...] for us it was the worst that could have happened. And to see so much disgrace, above all when... of course, here in Cajamarca [city] it was also intense, but in Cajamarca [city] the only thing that happened was humiliation, not loss of life." (Laura, 50, Cajamarca) (#28)

Both women speak about the time of heavy conflict, which is when police and army forces were used against social movements in various areas in the region of Cajamarca, and used violence against them that in some cases led to long-lasting injury or even death (Silva-Macher and Farrell, 2014). It is through this perceived betrayal that the police and army became ‘miners’, those quintessential outsiders. Recall here that, as mentioned previously, ‘miners’ is an undefined category with no fixed boundaries; and may include all those who supports the opening of the Conga mine (Li, 2013). “*It’s as if good manners didn’t exist anymore*”, Valeria says, while relating her story, noting that this observed estrangement between people also comes with a loss of values she held in high regard; hospitality, politeness and peacefulness. Again, the erosion of values is seen as a problem, perpetuated by former insiders. The police are, through their use of violence, no longer ‘true’ *Cajamarquina/os*, they do not ‘belong to us anymore’, as Laura said; they can no longer relate to true Cajamarcan values. In this way, the police, and other ‘miners’ in the broadest sense, become perceived as ‘outsiders’ due to their associations with, and support of, the mine.

The women noted corruption was a big problem in local (as well as national) politics, where politicians who let themselves ‘be bought by the mine’ were suddenly found to be arguing in its favour:

“Bit by bit we came to realise that, in reality, not just a few government officials were corrupt, or bribed, but also, everything [everyone] to do with health, education, the army...” (Clara, 48, Cajamarca) (#29)

The women told me the mine can, and will, use its financial power to bribe and cause disruption between families, friends, and social groups, by offering jobs to relatives of the leaders of social movements. Another way in which money sows discord is then by purposely disrupting communities and turning people against each other, a sentiment echoed by Stefanie (56, Celendín), talking about discovering that someone in the environmental group had been bribed by the mine:

“Such people should not be able to call themselves children of Cajamarca. They sell themselves for a plate of beans.” (#30)

It is clear, then, that to many of the activists, being a *Cajamarquina/o*, being an insider, is not as ‘easy’ as simply having been born and raised in Cajamarca. By aligning themselves with the mine, through bribery, violence, accepting work, or changing point

of view regarding the situation, the police, military and specific politicians and government officials, become 'outsiders', underlining the fluidity of the boundaries of 'in-' and 'outsider'. Through aligning with the ideals of the mine, these people's values no longer 'belong' with the values of the Cajamarca region. According to the activists, being a *Cajamarquina/o*, then, must be related to having a certain set of values and customs, a common sense of right and wrong, as well as a shared understanding of history that are all firmly defined in locality and place. Having different values to the 'insider-group' can lead to one becoming seen as an outsider, which means apart from being born within certain geographical boundaries (Cajamarca city/region/...), insidership is constructed through aligning with the values associated with these boundaries, which in this case are shaped directly or indirectly in the face of the mine. Alliances are shuffled and in- and outsiders defined and redefined based on their affiliation to the mine; whether they have come from elsewhere looking for work in it, whether they fight for it, or fight against it. This highlights the dividing and definitive power the mine has in the community, by turning its own people against each other, and extending its reach through those who can employ legitimised violence as a tool.

There is a further emotional layer to the fluidity of the in/outsider labels, found in the sense of sadness and loss over the increasing walls many activists have to build up in order to defend themselves against violence, abuse and betrayal:

Pilar (32, Celendín): *"Along the way I've overcome several things, right? One, uh... not to consider anyone as an enemy, simply an opponent, because when one is an opponent, that can change with time, right? Because God can also help hearts become aware, and maybe make them allies, right? So, that is..., and of course, those that we now think of as allies can become opponents, right? [...] We know that we can't trust anyone. We can't put our hands in the fire for anyone. And continue, continue, that's the most important, continue to fight, continue to resist, but of course, continue to prepare ourselves, right? Continue to prepare ourselves so we can resist all of this, right?"*

Inge: *"But that has to be difficult, let's say, when you can't trust anyone? It must be tough, right?"*

Pilar: *"Yes, because... you can't walk freely in the streets, you even have to be very careful when answering a phone call, because of the threats, and lots of things, that is, we have to be prepared because often, uh, they surprise you, and you answer, and you don't know who's recording you. So, all of this... that is, you have to be careful, even in the house you are in, right? When opening your door you have to be observant to make sure nobody is near you, because with one push, they've cornered you. So, everything could happen, and of course, that also means [it is better] not to take part in public events, eh... to be careful who you share a cup with, who you share a plate of food with, that is, security is really..."*

personal... and of course, the only security you have, like I told you, is in yourself, right? And more so because you don't know who might become an opponent, right?" (#31)

While not all of the women I spoke to feel this way, the emotional isolation Pilar experiences must in the end be a powerful tool for the mine; a success of its imagined divide and conquer approach to overcoming community resistance as set out before; a way of achieving individualisation not through economic means, but through shaking the foundations of the value of community in another way (Jenkins and Rondón, 2015). The aforementioned fluidity of the categories of insider versus outsider fill Pilar her with a deep sense of mistrust of everyone – insiders included; everyone, at any point, can become an outsider, and this is frightening. This way of thinking was particularly salient in Celendín, where people had experienced high levels of violence and betrayal during and after the time of heavy activism. It is not just the important cultural and local values that are at stake, then: it is the feeling of trust between people, and of being able to feel safe in one's home and community.

The question is, how long women like the ones described in this chapter, with their values and belief systems, will continue to be the 'insiders'. As I have shown, the women construct themselves as insiders through their intimate, first-hand knowledge of what the city was like before the mine came, and are feeling ever more alien in the city in light of all the changes that have come as a result of it. The mine, then, is not just constructed as not belonging through its being physically out of place, or its bringing of 'outsiders' to Cajamarca, or even by imposing outside values on Cajamarcans. More insidiously, it affects everyday life and interactions, and the social fabric of the community, through altering the values deemed important to Cajamarcans themselves; turning the familiar strange, and making 'strangers' out of 'insiders'.

5.5 Becoming insiders: rethinking the countryside

As I mentioned in sections 5.2 and 5.3, traditional ways of making a living were constructed by the women as part of personal and regional identity; agriculture, especially cattle raising and the milk and dairy industries play a big role in this. The rural holds a special place in Andean imagination in general, as a place of continuation of old values less disrupted by modernisation, as noted by Rowe and Schelling (1991). Cajamarca in particular continues to have a rural character, and therefore this particular

imaginary of the countryside, *el campo*, plays a vivid role in constructing 'Cajamarcaness'. As Marilou (41, Celendín) explained:

"What makes Cajamarca different? We have the most rural inhabitants of the country³⁰, this makes us different, and makes that other people don't understand us. The majority live from agriculture and animal husbandry." (#32)

Not only then is the high number of people living in rural areas a key aspect of Cajamarca region for Marilou, it is also what sets Cajamarca apart for her. Since rural areas have been key sites in communicating some of the direct impacts of the mine, such as water pollution and displacement (Bebbington et al., 2008; Lust, 2014; Sosa and Zwarteveen, 2012), the fact that a high percentage of the Cajamarcan population live in the countryside means that these effects are particularly felt as meaningfully impacting way of life associated with regional identity.

While the countryside in the Andes, on the one hand, may be associated with the traditional and the authentic, it is also constructed through connotations of backwardness, and 'otherness' of the rural population, contrasting the *campesina/os*, as opposed to the '*mestizo*' urban dwellers, as I have highlighted in chapter 2 (De la Cadena, 2005; Rowe and Schelling, 1991; Wade, 2001; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). When I was in Cajamarca city, the women often talked about the *campesina/os* as being the protectors of the environment and old customs and values (as did *campesina* women in the countryside themselves). Yet, some of them related to me how before the Conga protests broke out, the people of the city at times looked down on the people from the countryside. For example, Luisa (45, Cajamarca) said:

"The people from the city used to say 'oh, those indios from there [the countryside]'" (#33)

Thereby, she highlights how to the people from the city, the *campesinos* were the original 'outsiders'. Before, they were seen as set in their ways, with lower levels of education and less personal development. As Eva (54, Cajamarca) described:

"There were always problems with the divide between urban and rural. But Conga united us, it formed a language of equality." (#34)

The 'us against them' mentality has evolved from concerning 'the city versus the countryside' to being about '**Cajamarquinos** (urban and rural) versus the mining

³⁰ In absolute numbers, this is accurate: 2017 Cajamarca region had a rural population of over 1 million people, more than any other region. Relatively, this is 65% percent of Cajamarca's population, and the region is second to Huancavelica (77% rural). (CPI, 2017).

company/international modernisation'. The women of Cajamarca city, then, construct their identity in an interesting way: on the one hand, as *mestizas* of the city, they differentiate themselves from the countryside, which they associate with the more traditional; on the other hand, as I have outlined before, they contrast Cajamarca city (in the mountains) with the cities on the coast, which they consider more 'modernised'. Not only do the women here directly allude to the mining company and the mining protests being driving forces in changing their views of the countryside and the people there, the coming of the mine has thus triggered people to rethink their definition of 'local' and widen their scope of who is part of 'us'. Sandra (58, Cajamarca) describes how the people from the city gained an appreciation of what the people from the countryside were fighting for, saying:

"So, thousands and thousands of campesinos came here, to protest for the water, and all of Cajamarca stood in solidarity with them. Because we know that they have also fought, have come from their village very far away to... to be in the confrontation here, a paralysation in some sense, and us in Cajamarca [city] too, really, almost the majority of us have gone." (#35)

The coming of the mine, and the disruption in time and place that it represents, has led some of the women to form new alliances and reconsider their differences. That is not to say that the differences between the urban and the rural are not still widely felt; in fact the divide between '*campesinos*' and 'people from the city' is very prevalent in Sandra's quote. Instead of being overlooked, or overcome, the differences between urban and rural Cajamarca have been re-imagined, and the way in which they are discussed has transformed from derogatory talk of the *campesinos*/*indios*' to recognition and respect of their way of life, their struggles, and their bravery in the times of heavy conflict; more closely aligned with Rowe and Schelling (1991)'s description of the countryside as a place of continuity of old values. It should not be surprising, then, that some of these views are also voiced in the opposition to large-scale mining activities, which, as the remainder of this chapter evidences, are seen as both a direct disruption of the integrity of the 'authentic rural', as well as of a continuation of historical cultural practices. Like Sandra, Ana (42, Cajamarca) discussed the respect she felt for the hardships the Guardians of the Lakes went through. She describes:

"And it's admirable, it's... it awakens a lot of solidarity in us, to see the people that are more humble, sacrificing their life, their health, their families... and doing all that they have done. It's very hard, up there, under just some plastic... oh God. Horrible. And if it rained... I stayed there one night, on the plastic, and underneath it water was running, and it was horrible and it was the longest night, the dawn

just would not arrive, and I said: 'I can't even bear a single night, and these people are here, and they're humble, look at them. They're very poor people... that only have a bit of land, from which they harvest something, to survive. But it's they that are sacrificing.'" (#36)

The notion of "*We live in the city, we don't suffer.*" was also discussed at one of the meetings I attended. The women communicating this now see the countryside as the place where the brunt of the suffering takes place; in violence against protesters, in poverty and in threat to livelihoods. This sentiment of 'they are the ones that are sacrificing' seems to have been very central to awakening the solidarity of the people in the city, and has led to a shift in who is considered part of the 'in-group'. These connections made between different groups of people, that are traditionally seen as different, show how when confronted with new 'outsiders', the category of insiders is widened, and connections, alliances and relationships between people change. The solidarity between city and countryside was awakened, and the traditional barriers between people from the two spaces were overcome in the face of a 'common enemy'. In this process, the meaning of the countryside was re-evaluated by the urban women; it went from a place that represents backwardness, to a place that represents place-appropriate continuity.

5.5.1 Changes in rural areas

As outlined in the previous section, not only have *campesinos* gone from 'outsiders' and 'other' to 'insiders' in the view of the women in the city, their way of life and the things they are fighting for have gone from 'backwards' to being admired. Yet, while urban women who oppose the mine communicate an increased appreciation of the values, tradition and the way of life associated with the countryside, the decline in social capital was not just felt in the city, but by the women that live, or have lived, in the countryside as well. Sofía (27, Cajamarca), Pilar (36, Celendín) and Camila (35, Cajamarca), all three having grown up in (different) small rural communities, describe the practice of reciprocity implicit in the rural practice of the '*minga*', a Quechua word roughly translated to 'collective work'. Sofía (27, Cajamarca) spoke with a certain sadness about traditions and parts of culture being lost, explaining how before:

"people were more involved with agriculture, with animal husbandry, so, people lived better, that what... that everyone said 'let's go', it was a type of minga, they would go and... they call it 'minga' when, for example someone sows potatoes, and so, that person goes to take out their potatoes, and goes to harvest, so he

says, 'call all the neighbours to help you', and they all go. [...] And this always, with all the neighbours." (#37)

Sofía ascribes the decline in *mingas* to people in her community moving to the city to look for work in the mine; her community falls in the influence zone of Yanacocha. Across the impacted zones, many *campesina/os* sold or lost their land to the mine, and many *campesina/os* from other parts of the Cajamarcan countryside also moved to the city in pursuit of different kinds of work after the mine came (Bury, 2005; Steel, 2013). While rural-urban migration is by no means a unique phenomenon in Peru (or the world as a whole), the mine again becomes a central focal point in both driving the phenomenon, and in driving *perceptions* of why the phenomenon occurs. Furthermore, if the region of Cajamarca has a rural character due to the majority of its population being rural, while the mine causes urbanisation, this poses the mine as a central problem in the restructuring of demographics, and thereby one of the core identities of the region. This is what Pilar and Camila also lament when it comes to the rural communities where they grew up:

"Now it's not like before, right? Because before, the neighbours worked together, and they continued to prune, and they helped, right? [...] Now they don't want, that is, now there's not even... before, we worked, for example, when there was a potato harvest, everyone wanted to do mingas, right? Mingas is when everybody wants to harvest potato. So no, now you don't have this [anymore]." (Pilar, 36, Celendín) (#38)

"it's not like... that, that sisterhood/brotherhood that you had before... for the very, for the very customs, for the very minga... they did mingas, communal works, you had their trust, everyone knew you, you work together. And now it's a bit more individualistic." (Camila, 35, Cajamarca) (#39)

Unlike Sofía's, the communities where Pilar and Camila grew up are not located close to the Yanacocha mine, and are therefore less directly affected. As a result, when they speak similarly to Sofía about changes they have observed in their communities, the mine is not framed as the direct culprit. Rather, it works indirectly through its influence on values; individualisation being associated with a loss of traditional values in favour of the ones associated with the coming of the mine, as Pilar goes on to explain:

"Honestly it [her community] has changed for the worse. It hasn't changed for the better, because, the people have become divided. They have divided precisely because of the big interests, over the mine, and the opportunistic politics, right? [...] those that are... let's say, putting the people to sleep a bit, and on the other hand... what I told you, corrupt, right? Corrupt, and with this introducing ... many

plagues, many foreign vices that ... that make the human being less just, less human even, right?” (#40)

Pilar considers her community as disintegrating as a result of the kind of values that the mine brings and imposes. She describes the bad as coming from outside, from outside Peru in this case, and from interests that are larger and more powerful than any of them. As a result, the people in her community lose some of their core being when they start leaning towards individualisation and personal interests over reciprocity and traditional customs such as the *minga*. All three women being quite young indicates that this change has occurred quite rapidly. This may be partly why the growing individualisation of society was pointed out as a problem by many of the women, as indeed neighbourliness and community were considered highly important in both the city and in the countryside, and seen as a value that was lost in both, in favour of a heightened individualisation and need to fend for oneself. As Sofía says:

“And now it’s like, the cost of labour has gone up – someone already... they charge you like [you were] a mine! You say, ‘come, help me’, and the people charge you... 50 soles, right? [...] So, before it was not like that, before they went and helped you, because really it was like that, it was a way of... of helping each other, between neighbours.” (#41)

Thus, through paying certain wages, and pushing the idea of work for individual, rather than communal, gain, the mine has altered long-term communal benefits of reciprocity in favour of the short-term economic benefits of the individual. If *campesina* women are considered as doubly tied to the traditional both through being *campesina* and through being women (De la Cadena, 1992), they may see themselves as further marginalised by not being able to rapidly adapt to new circumstances and expectations this brings. The mine is, then, constructed as both a direct and indirect driver of these changes, by urban and rural women alike, as well as a disruption of way of life both in practical, everyday ways, and in indirect ways such as through altering the rural identity of the region of Cajamarca, with long-lasting effects on community values and coherency.

Some forms of everyday resistance can be observed in the way the women aspire to live life in congruency with the values that were important in the ‘before’ (Jenkins, 2017). This is evidenced by Elena (29, Cajamarca), who never took part in any anti-mining related activities, but does believe the mine to bring social problems, and considers the associated capitalist philosophy a misfit in with her personal philosophy or visions of what would be a good future for her children. Elena grew up in the countryside in what she

refers to as 'humble/poor' conditions, and moved to Cajamarca city to find work. She often returns to her rural community to visit, and help, her mother. In the city, she and her family continue to live under relatively humble circumstances. However, she considers this a value, rather than a problem to overcome:

Inge: *"And what do you think the presence of the mine will mean for future generations?"*

Elena: *"That, no. That it is no good, right?"*

Inge: *"Of course, that could be. And if for example... so do you think life would be worse, if Conga came? If it was there, how would the future of the city be different? And of the children?"*

Elena: *"It must... of course, there could be work, right? But, if they have work, but... then they could be drunks... because of the money."*

Inge: *"Ah right, because there is more opportunity..."*

Elena: *"Yes. To buy everything they want... and when you have money, you buy, right? You buy brand name clothes, nice shoes, and because of this friends go to drink, they can take [them] to the cantinas. [...] And so, in this, I don't like it. And I won't like it, all my life. It's better to not have much and stay like that. And you can [teach] your children, that there isn't [much], that there isn't [much], so that they get used to it. Because if in your house there's a lot of money, they can make you buy everything, [they will want to] eat meat [regularly], they won't eat the grain that we sow anymore, the beans..."*

Inge: *"Ah, so let's say, then they want the best stuff every day?"*

Elena: *"Yes"*

Inge: *"So you think that a humble life is better?"*

Elena: *"Yes. Yes. [I think] that." (#42)*

Elena does not aspire for her children to become rich, as she thinks it will corrupt them – as she values humility, she wishes to discourage materialism. The clash between Elena and the miners, then, boils down to an entirely different way of thinking. Modes of thought based in western modernity, capitalism and neoliberalism take for granted the notion that people want to make money, and want the 'best things', such as an abundance of meat. Such inherent assumptions are often not questioned or discussed as they are considered common sense (Dunn, 2001), going some way to understand the disconnect between the government and mining companies on the one hand and those that oppose the mine on the other. Since Elena considers materialism a bad thing outright, discussions about the future of Cajamarca would have to take place at the level

of culture and values, first and foremost, rather than in appealing to people's assumed desire for increased monetary wealth. Continuing, in the face of rapidly changing values, to live her life and teach her children as she sees fit, becomes a way to communicate her opposition to the dominant way of thinking, imported from the outside by the coming of the mine. These forms of small, enduring resistance are also propagated by the Rondas Campesinas, who actively campaign against rural people selling their land. This is an attempt to hinder other multinational corporations coming in – i.e., in order to oppose the land going to 'outsiders' who would use it for other (in their eyes, unsuitable) purposes. Those who do move away are encouraged to keep their land in order to hinder companies from moving in. However, the question remains if people would be willing to come back to the countryside. Elena says she would like to, but first wants her children to get an education in the city. Sofía says that the level of education in the countryside is the reason she will never move back, but on the other hand, growing up in the countryside has given her many happy memories. She says:

"...it brings on some nostalgia because, these values get lost, these traditions of our ancestors get lost." (#43)

The notion of ancestry is then common in these narratives, be it about old ways of doing things, of belonging to the region, or of tradition and culture. It is central as both something that is gaining more attention, and as one of the thing that continues to be lost. It is then not only living memory that is contrasted with the present, but also further history of the region that the women drew upon to make sense of what is happening the present, and what it means to belong, something that I will explore in more detail in chapter 7.

5.6 Conclusion

As Scannell and Gifford (2010) and Cohen (1985) argue, disruptions of the continuity of place can result a loss of definitions of the 'self', which the women clearly feel is threatened; and which they struggle against in response. As I have shown in this chapter, the abrupt disruption in time that the Yanacocha mine has come to represent, is used as a turning point in narratives of place, values and community. For the women of Cajamarca, an outside force shaped like a mine came and interrupted their way of life, which they argue has made their situation worse. The mine becomes framed as a symbol for everything that is happening in the 'now' – especially things that are unwanted. What is at play with this group of Cajamarcan women is more than nostalgia. Instead, I argue

that there is a tangible rift in time in the women's imaginings of past and present, wherein the mine itself becomes the central driving force, framed as the quintessential 'outsider'; the company and the people supporting it representing the "opposite of a *Cajamarquina/o*". The company is seen to have imposed a new set of social norms and values on the region, most importantly those of increased individualisation and materialism, which the women generally associate with Western forms of modernisation. which for them are fundamentally out of place in Cajamarca. As a result, the women argue the mine disrupted vital local connections with a long history. While communities can, and have, successfully resisted new mining projects and expansions, the 'modern' values the mine brings are seen as inherently working against the values of community and reciprocity, resulting in a social disruption. It is here the distinction between in- and outsiders can become fluid, as one may go from being one to being the other, and connections between people can become further eroded. The women thus perceive a wider range of impacts, effects, and occurrences in their everyday life, including in gendered ways, to be a result of the coming of the mine than strictly its more well-documented direct impacts (e.g. pollution). It is, thus, important to look beyond the direct impacts the mine has had, and also pay attention to how this is understood in emotional and cultural ways. The next chapter will add another layer to this discussion, by approaching it from the angle of landscape and the relationships that 'belong' within it.

6. Women's perceptions of the mine as an interruption of landscape and natural relationships

6.1 Introduction

As I have outlined, while the misfit of the mine in local landscapes is sometimes mentioned as an important side-note by other scholars (e.g. Ballard and Banks (2003); De la Cadena (2010); Li (2009a, 2009b); Tsing (2000)), it demands more particular attention, especially in relation to the construction of the image of the mine by local populations and in how it overlaps with their sense of belonging in various aspects. This chapter will analyse how women posit that the mines themselves – both the currently operational Yanacocha mine and the Conga mine that was put on hold – do not belong in Cajamarca, due to their not being part of the landscape as it 'should be'. The women frame this through their discussions of physical misfit within the natural landscape and the far-reaching consequences associated with it. As described in chapter 3, a landscape is both a physical and emotional site, socially constructed through practice and meanings assigned to it (Häkli, 1999). Like place-attachment and community values, as outlined in the previous chapter, there is a continuity aspect to interpretation of the landscape. Because it is generally fluid and may be disrupted and altered, it has a temporal dimension; it is interpreted as either static, changing naturally (e.g. seasonally), or changing as a result of other factors. In this chapter, I will analyse how the women construct the Yanacocha and Conga mines as physical and emotional disruptions of the landscape, arguing that both rural and urban women communicate an interpretation of the mine as a supernatural force, meaningfully affecting their daily lives in both their rural and urban environments.

I will look at the disruptions as they are perceived by women both in natural landscape and spaces associated with nature, as well as in the urban setting, which has not been thoroughly researched in the literature on mining. In both contexts, I will again mainly (but not exclusively) draw on accounts of women who currently live in the city of Cajamarca, including those that have lived there all their lives, focusing particularly on their interactions with the natural landscape, as there is a lack of academic understanding on how urban dwellers interact with, and interpret, the changing natural landscape. I will argue that the mine is constructed as a central driver with particular

influences over natural processes, and show how by doing this it becomes framed as a powerful entity.

As I discussed in my methodology chapter, as part of the interviews and to introduce a more creative aspect to the research process, I asked the women I interviewed if they would make a map of their area, highlighting sites of change, and I will draw on these throughout this chapter. Since the exercise was performative, the construction of the landscape comes forward through the combined effort of the making of the map itself and the stories the participants tell about it whilst or after drawing them; stories that often connect them in an emotional way to one or more places, impacts, changes, or locations, that hold particularly high importance for that individual. Various participants, especially those that were not from the city originally, drew the community they had grown up in, if that was not the town or city they were living in now. As Rishbeth and Powell (2013) describe, everyday experiences and memories from childhood are vital in shaping how landscapes are experienced. This shows a deep on-going connection to childhood community, their 'first home', as the place they are truly from and feel most sad and nostalgic about witnessing changes in, or perceive as most meaningfully affected by the mine's activities. As Trudeau (2006) argues, landscapes highlight politics of belonging; a communication of what belongs and what does not, really comes through in the maps.

Gender dictates tasks, roles and expectations regarding the use of landscape and practices within it. Therefore, I start this chapter with a brief discussion of gendered relationships with natural entities, particularly water, in section 6.2. Here, I explore how the women of Cajamarca consider themselves particularly affected by the mine's perceived impact on water. Next, in section 6.3, I will go on to critically analyse how the women communicate a keen awareness of landscape in natural spaces/landscapes, and how they have come to understand it as altered, strange, and/or cherished due to the mine's interference. I will link this into the women's notions of the landscape as being 'alive' and 'healthy' versus 'dead' and 'diseased'. In section 6.4, I will discuss how women perceive the urban landscape as becoming strange as well; both through loss of green spaces in the city, and through the physical manifestations of altered values as outlined in the previous chapter.

6.2 The gendered nature of nature

As pollution and natural degradation are among the most well-documented direct impacts of open-pit mining activity, and pollution of water in particular was one of the main concerns for those opposing the opening of the Conga mine (Bury, 2002), it is not surprising that natural aspects are often used to illustrate the differences the mine has made in the women's lives. The struggle for water is frequently summed up in catch phrases such as *'you can't drink gold'* which are often repeated at meetings. This highlights a narrative of gold as superfluous versus water as fundamental, one of the main contrasts the women draw between gold and money on one side, and water and nature on the other. Beatriz (65, Bambamarca) told me people say the *campesinos* should just get on their horses and get water from further away, but quick and easy access to clean water is a prerequisite for rural livelihoods (Brain, 2017), and staying in places where access to these becomes scarce is simply not sustainable for them. This is particularly true for women, who need a lot of water for their everyday tasks (Jenkins, 2014b; Li, 2009b); as Julia (62, Cajamarca) explains:

"let's say, the... the water scarcity, it affects women more, [when] there's no water, the poor women³¹ have to gather it, the little water that there is, and make it last, so that there's enough water, so that they can cook, right?" (#44)

This means that women's interactions with water are a fundamental part of their everyday lives, both in the city and in the countryside. In the city, the scarcity of water also directly influences the daily life of women, as Ana (42, Cajamarca) explained:

"The water scarcity is related directly with the presence of the mine [...] What does the city do? What do the families do, every house? The men leave to go to work. Who has to worry to put... to make the meals, to wash the clothes, for the basic needs... the women. Because traditionally it is the women that take care of the domestic activities. She has to bear it, she suffers for the water. And because the women in the homes are the ones that oversee the family economy, for example, she suffers because she has to buy water, she has to carry the water, some go in moto-taxis these days, in taxis, they are carrying it. I tell you this because I have my brother [...] he calls me and says: 'Sister, do you have water there?' 'Yes' 'Ok, Elsa is coming over' – Elsa is my sister in law. Elsa comes over, because Elsa transports the water, she arrives in taxi, fills two vats of water and takes them with her [...] So, the women, always the women, it seems. That means, the impacts, yes. It impacts the women more than the men. In details like that. But quality of life is made in details like that. It is not the big things, look, the market, the stock exchange, this doesn't matter to us, they are not our everyday life." (#45)

³¹ N.B Julia said: *'las pobres mujeres'*, not *'las mujeres humildes'*; she is not referring to economic status here.

Ana's story notably highlights that it is 'always the women' that seem to have to bear more than their share of the burden, in this case through seeing women's everyday struggles as a result of the direct impacts the mine has on water availability, which she argues has far-reaching effects in their quality of life. In the countryside, where women dedicate even more time in their daily lives to the upkeep of the household, as well as of taking care of crops and animals, their involvement with and dependency upon water is even greater. As Mariela (36, Bambamarca) explained:

"It us that have the most contact with water, women. We have the most contact with pollution, a woman carries everything. We know where the water comes from, we work with the land, we have to feed our families." (#46)

Both women in the city and the countryside, then, through their everyday interaction with water and land, see the mine influencing their daily lives, and its impacts on the living landscape that provides (or used to provide) health, food and subsistence. Yet, there is another layer to it, apart from the direct ways in which water pollution and availability affects men and women differently. It ties in with a complex wider relation to other gendered expectations, such as women's care roles, motherhood, and policing of gender roles. As Clara (48, Cajamarca) explained, concerns over the water quality worry her, because:

"If a child gets sick, people blame us [mothers]. Why didn't we do a better job?" (#47)

This is why it is so important to understand how the women relate to, and understand water in particular as reacting in a certain way to the influences of the mine. Their resilience and well-being is tested not just through the direct impacts of the mine and the ways in which these are gendered, but in less tangible ways, including the shift of blame of the mine's impacts onto the women themselves; which is especially relevant considering water and earth are coded as feminine (Jenkins, 2014a; Li, 2009b). Throughout the rest of this chapter, I urge the reader to keep in mind these relationships between women and land, and women and water in particular.

6.3 The mine and changes to natural landscapes

Mee and Wright (2009) argue that belonging is about more than people; plants, animals, micro-organisms all 'belong' and hold place in people's narratives over contested belonging. I would add that other presences in the physical landscape are understood to

'belong' as well, both in a literal and in a symbolic sense, such as through the way of life they come to represent. As Li (2009b) mentions, the rural landscape of Cajamarca is actively produced by the designs of its inhabitants, and thereby reflective of their way of life; a stark contrast with the government's and mining company's framing of the land as 'unproductive' home to 'unsustainable agriculture'.

The mine necessarily takes up a lot of space, and furthermore, is ever expanding, looking for new sites of extraction, as well as sites for waste and increased infrastructure (Brain, 2017); thereby demanding its presence in landscape gets noticed. By displacing people as a result of its space demand, it further forces 'insiders' to become out of place. In this section, I will analyse how relationships between people and nature, and nature and nature are interpreted and communicated as disrupted through the coming of the mine, particularly by focusing on first exploring the two main, and interlinked characteristics of Andean landscapes as set out in chapter 3, namely mountains and water. This means that this section often focuses on rural landscapes; however, often this is done through accounts of urban women, who have received little academic attention in this context.

6.3.1 Unnatural colours and mountains that move

Visual aspects of the landscape, such as colours and mountains, were one of the things the women communicated as 'belonging' or 'not belonging' in their maps. Natural aspects of the landscape are often central in the maps the women drew, including the maps of the city of Cajamarca (more on this in section 6.4). In the case of a 'before and after' map, a key point of the 'before' map is usually that it has more green spaces, grass and trees. Crops and plants appear in almost all of the pictures. Sofía (27, Cajamarca), for example, made a map (#1) showing the before and now of the rural community where she grew up. She explained that because her community is very close to the mine, doing agriculture has become less feasible, and people now get their income from providing services to those who work in the mine, such as in hotels or restaurants. When she was young, Sofía's father moved her and her siblings to the city and pursued work in the Yanacocha mine to be able to afford a good education for them. The rest of her family stayed in the community working in agriculture, and she travelled back and forth a lot. Sofía herself had previously worked an internship with a different mining company. She met her boyfriend when he moved to Cajamarca from the coast hoping to find work in the Conga mine. During our interview, she began by telling me about the economic benefits mining could bring, but after drawing her map, she began to speak about mining

in a different way, instead invoking notions of emotional connection to place and landscape. I theorise in part this occurred because she drew a place that for her is heavily connected to positive early childhood memories, a 'home place' (Gustafson, 2001; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013), as well as to the many differences she sees in the community now, as a result of being relatively close to Yanacocha. Sofía explains that through coming from a rural Cajamarcan community, she understands what Conga means and will do to the land in a way that others cannot:

"I, my family, we are from there, me too, so, because of that... and with him³², we discussed it several times. When he told me 'no, but Conga should happen,' I told him, 'no, maybe you... maybe you don't feel it because you don't know, you don't feel this nostalgia when you go to the countryside and you see the mountains, how they are deteriorating bit by bit, how you see... and you go a year later and this mountain disappeared.' And so... or, there was a lot of water, and you go a year later, and it isn't there..." (#48)



Map 1: Sofía

Left: the rural community Sofía grew up in as it was before the Yanacocha mine came: a rural community with visible markers of agriculture – a cow, an apple tree, a field with crops, a campesino wearing a traditional hat, working the land. There is one house, a river, and green mountains. Right: the rural community Sofía grew up in as it is now: there are more and bigger houses, and roads, and a car. The river holds less water, there are no visible signs of farming activity, and some of the plants are orange. The mountains are brown.

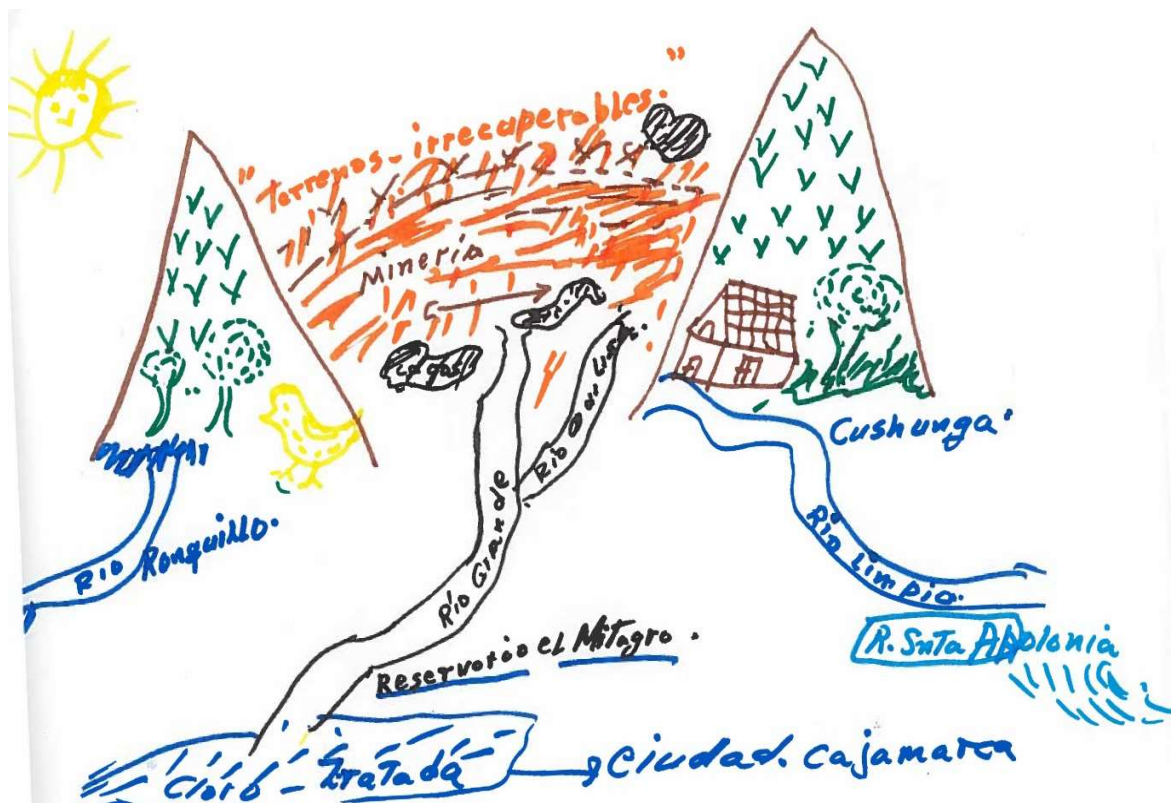
³² Her boyfriend

Here, Sofía began talking about the sadness only a local can experience when confronted with the changes the mine has brought to the landscape and its inhabitants. This sadness comes from seeing the mountains slowly disappearing, which she did not draw directly in her map, but invoked by making the outline of mountains in the before green versus the mountains in the after brown; furthermore, they are visually altered by the coming of the roads. The sadness that she spoke with comes through in her map by the representation of the 'before' having many more living beings in it – a *campesino*, a cow, an apple tree, a field of crops, healthy plants,... that simply are not present in the 'now'. While things in the now show markers of more economic development in the forms of cars, larger houses –no longer built in the traditional way, with adobe – and more roads, she is also explaining that something is missing. This communicates a loss of vital connections in the landscape, which becomes more anonymous as the things that made it familiar, particular and special disappeared and are replaced with generic status symbols. As she explains, someone like her boyfriend, who moved to Cajamarca to find work in the mine, simply cannot understand what the Conga mine would truly mean for the region and its inhabitants, because he has not seen the 'before'. Therefore, he does not know what communities like hers are 'supposed' to look like. This echoes Rishbeth and Powell (2013) analysis of belonging and landscape as tied together through accumulated memories. Her sense of place-attachment is linked its connection to the past, both her lived experience and the connections she explains she feels to her ancestors (section 5.5.1). Therefore, to Sofía, someone who does not have this personal connection to the landscape, and has not witnessed it changing cannot truly know what the mine *means*. This reinforces her place-attachment and sense of belonging: it takes an 'insider' to understand what the local is meant to be like.

The theme of deteriorating mountains comes back in Sandra's (58, Cajamarca) map, #2. Sandra has lived in the city for her entire life, but decided to draw a map of the countryside directly surrounding the Yanacocha mine, which is very palpable to her as her place of work in Cajamarca city gives her a direct view of some of the mountains affected by Yanacocha. The changing of the landscape thus happens in the background of her everyday life. She describes seeing what used to be '*puntos*' – mountain peaks. On her map, the mountain peaks to the left and right of the mining site are still there, and still show signs of a traditional rural way of life. Where the mine is now, there are no mountain peaks anymore, as they are dug off and disappeared by the mine's activities.

In addition to the lack of peaks, Sandra draws heavily on descriptions of colours when talking about the mountain landscape, where green is good and orange is bad:

"The mountains have changed, and they all look red. Now there's no, now they don't produce anything. So... what are we going to do, a mountain... here is the mine now, where it's more flat, there's no peak anymore now. This is where there's no mining. This is where there's mining, this is where the mine is [...] That is, here, where there's no vegetation anymore, there's nothing anymore now. Green, and now there's nothing anymore, everything in colours like this, of... like... I'm going to draw it for you here. Because look, I have seen, when I've been up there, colours like this, orange. Orange colours, colours like this, medium orange, now there's no green anymore here. Now there's no green anymore here. It's just, only this, orange, other colours, more black, nothing, but... [if] we go to another mountain, when we... for example, in these mountains there's still green like this, like this... there's green." (#49)



Map 2: Sandra

Left: a rural area/mountain unaffected by mining. There is green grass, trees and a bird, and the mountain is a source of clean water (dark blue), the Rio Ronquillo. Right: the rural community of Cushunga. There is a farm, green grass and a tree, and a source of clean water (dark blue) coming from the mountain, that leads into the Santa Apolonia reservoir in Cajamarca, where it is treated (light blue) before being distributed to the city. Centre: the Yanacocha mine in orange. Above it she has written 'irrecoverable lands'. Depicted in black are some of the lakes that have disappeared, such as the Corazon lake (heart-shaped). Also depicted in black are rivers that still exist, such as Rio Grande, that flow from the Yanacocha mine to the city. These rivers lead into the Milagro reservoir, where they are treated (dark blue) before being distributed in the city.

Notably, to contrast the changes she has observed in the mountains where the mine is located, Sandra has drawn Cushunga. Cushunga is a rural community that is considered by the women to be one of the last wells of clean water near Cajamarca city. Sandra has used this community as an example and representation of what the rural landscape surrounding Cajamarca city used to look like generally. The fact that Sandra draws this particular location – that she knows; it is not far from Cajamarca city, but where she has never lived, nor has family, i.e., that she has no immediate personal connection to – shows how specific places and symbolism influence her interpretation of the landscape in a way that is not just physical, but also emotional and symbolic. It is a direct invocation of that “*authentic rural culture under threat from industrialisation and the modern culture industry*” described by Rowe and Schelling (1991, p. 2). Like Cushunga, the Yanacocha mine itself also represents both a symbolic and physical manifestation of landscape expression, representing industrialisation and modernity. Unlike Cushunga, which fits ‘in place’, Yanacocha is a disruption of the physical landscape, as clearly articulated in Sandra’s drawing and recounting by being the ‘wrong colour’ and lack of peaks. She presents it as an outside imposition and way of thinking, altering the landscape to not simply become different, but become something that seemed unimaginable in the ‘before’. Mountains are one of the main ways in which this is physically embodied in the landscape. As Stefanie (56, Celendín, Map 6) comments:

“I was outraged when I went to Bambamarca, Hualgayoc... oh, the state everything is in! Everything dry, they’ve removed everything [...] the mountains bare. All the mountains that are in the Yanacocha [region]. [...] Imagine that, here it is... all dry, they’re bare mountains... everything dry, everything, everything removed, everything, everything. [...] And it was a massive mountain, that now, now they’ve all been turned around, everything, everything, everything, everything.” (#50)

For her, the deterioration of the mountain is not a view she sees every day, as the province of Celendín not directly affected by Yanacocha³³. Stefanie, then, expresses the shock she felt when she travelled to an affected area, and saw how a large mountain became bare and dry, so much so that she made it a focal point in her map, seen in Map 6 in the next section. The mountains, of course, are central to the Andean landscape, again, in both physical presence, and through emotional and cultural meanings. They were also, mostly, stable and unmoving presences; while mountains are sources of water and cause landslides (Boelens, 2014; Harvey, 2010; Li, 2013; Sherbondy, 1998), the mountains themselves are stagnant in the landscape; they are not, themselves, part of

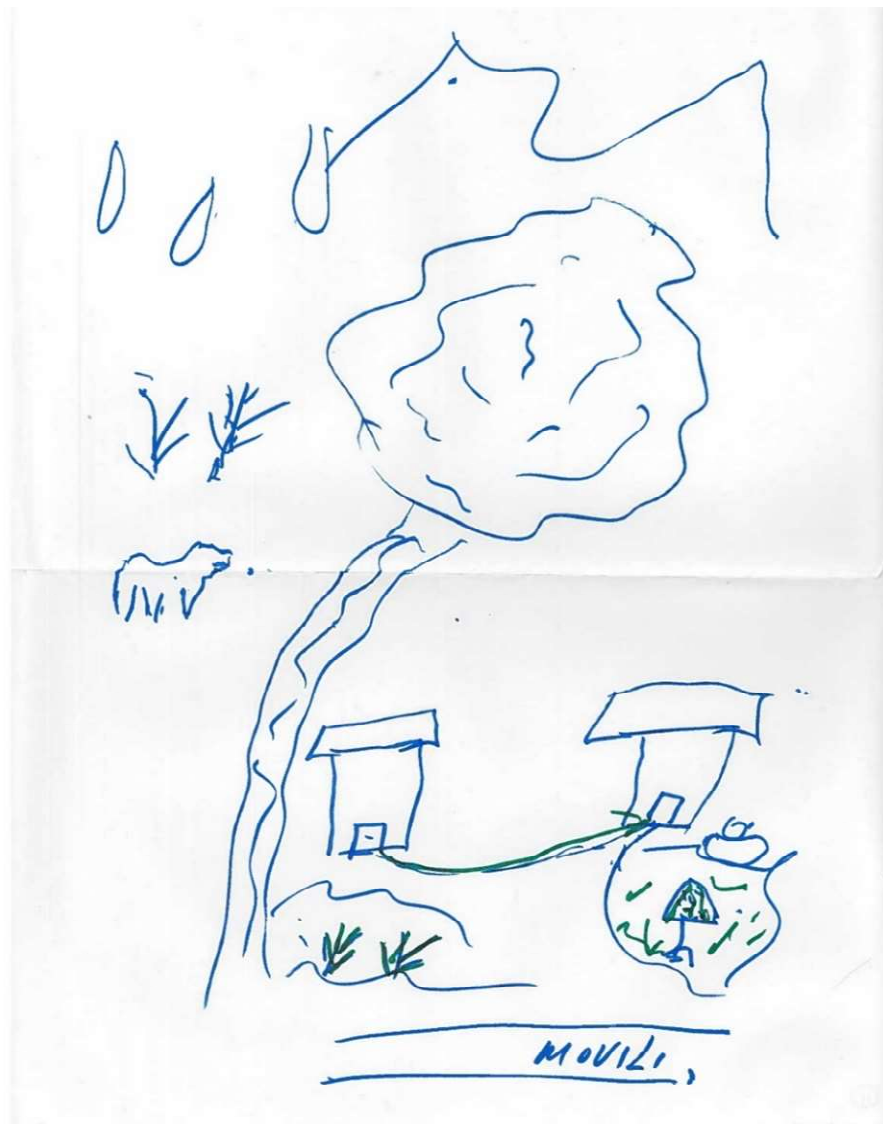
³³ However, it is located in the area that would be affected by the Conga mine.

the yearly cycles of agriculture or even affected by growth of communities. This helps us understand why the lack of peaks is something that Sandra (Map 2) emphasised. She said:

"the mountains, before Yanacocha, were like this, sharp peaks [...] over there, they were all sharp peaks, look, and all of this is now... this is the Yanacocha mine. And they were extracting here, there, and almost up to there." (#51)

As Julia (62, Cajamarca, Map 3) describes:

"So... before, for example, for us it was impossible... 'this mountain here, it's going to move,' we said, right? We didn't have any idea that the mountain was going to move, and that it was going to go to another place." (#52)



Map 3: Julia
A rural landscape: Mountains and rain feeding into a lake and a river, which leads into a rural community where crops are grown and animals, such as sheep, are kept.

The mountains had never moved before, nor were they imagined to have the potential to move; they were seen as actors with power and influence (De la Cadena, 2010; Harvey, 2010; Li, 2013), yes, but also taken as a static given: the mountain is a background, a dominant, static presence seen in a person's everyday lives whenever they go outside their house or look outside their window. This is why the impact of the mine is particularly felt in their appearance, as the mine is the first, and only known thing that has caused the *mountains themselves* to become altered.

Julia's map (#3) features an imagined rural scene before the mine came – i.e., it does not represent any particular community, but portrays pre-Yanacocha rural Cajamarca as a whole. Like Sandra, then, Julia is invoking a particular incarnation of the 'rural' as something more pure and vulnerable than either the mine or the city, and more in need of protection³⁴. Interestingly, both Julia and Sandra have spent all their lives in Cajamarca city. As mentioned previously, the relationships between urban dwellers and the other-than-human inhabitants of the natural landscape remains underexplored. Yet, these women's portrayal of mountains and rural scenes in their maps, along with their narratives of mountains as central to landscape suggest that such connections indeed do exist. If mountains might be seen, to whatever extent, as beings or entities that belong in their rightful place in the landscape (De la Cadena, 2015a; Harvey, 2010; Li, 2013) – where they always unquestioningly were 'before' – urban women also observe them and give meaning to how the mountains' integrity is 'now' impaired by the physical needs of the mine. Therefore, the mine becomes the larger player, the one that has previously unimaginable powers and capabilities, using them to bring disruption in previously unfathomable ways, highlighting its high level of out of place-ness and demonstrating its own power as well as that of the actors and factors involved in making it happen; the government, the companies and capitalism. As a result, its visible presence in the mountain landscape is like a tangible scar, the land it occupies is, as Sandra writes (Map 2), 'irrecoverable'. Julia explained:

"For example, the mountains are... here, all of a sudden, like that, right? Hills. Now, these mountains, they have, they've been relegated to here [...] that is, unbelievable; when we go, we say: 'and this mountain, that was here, what happened [to it]?' 'now it's not here, now it's in another place, but now... now it's not natural anymore.'" (#53)

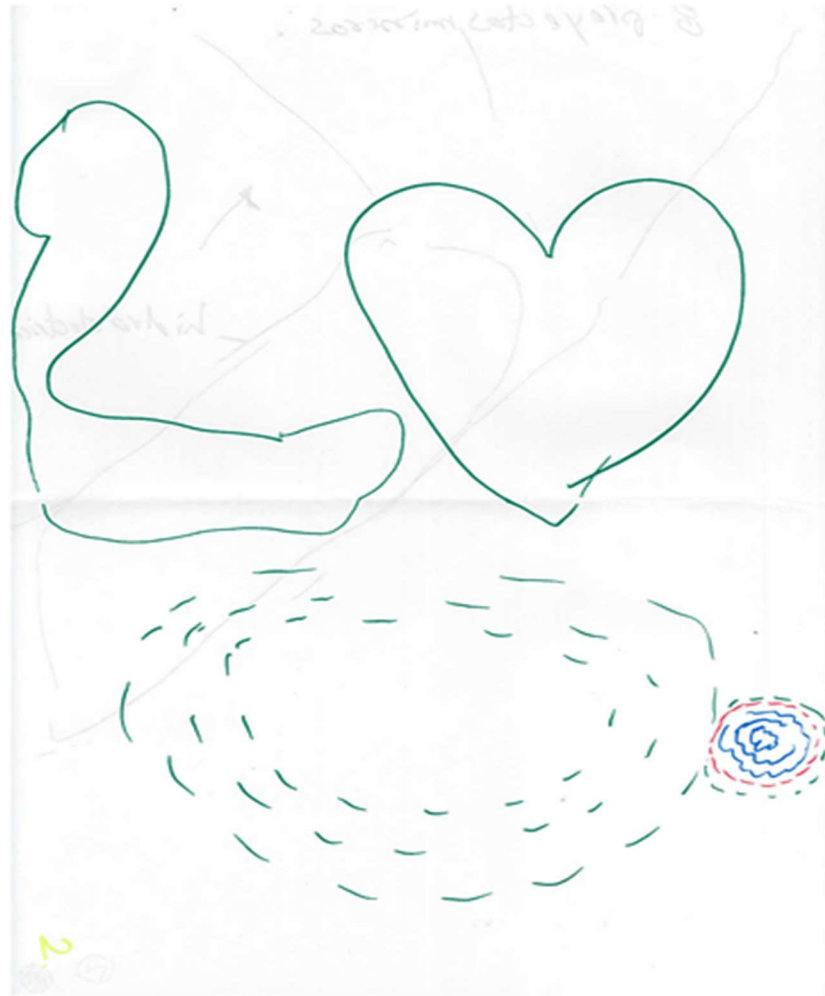
³⁴ Map "10.5" in appendix IV shows another imagined rural landscape of Cajamarca by an urban woman, Luisa; focusing on abundant water. Map 12 in appendix IV shows another rural landscape as yet untouched by mining; Elena's hamlet.

Julia cannot see the landscape in its current form as 'natural'; it is likely that when she refers to the mountain now being 'in another place', she refers to the hills of rocks and stones that are left-over after the mining company has extracted the gold from it; obviously very different from a mountain in its natural state, which very clearly communicates that the mine is understood to be imposing its own will and needs on the landscape at all costs. As Trudeau (2006) argues: *"To be out of place is to violate a community's sense of place."* (p.434), suggesting that the mine breaks the link between the landscape and the meaning and values that it embodies in place. As mentioned previously, Scannell and Gifford (2010) describe the importance of continuity for a place to 'fit' with a person's continuity in their conception of 'self' over time. A disruption of place, then, could lead to a perceived rupture in continuity of the self, as physical connections with the past are broken or distorted. For Sandra, Sofía and Julia, tearing down or 'moving' the mountains is a disturbance of the natural order. It is a disturbance of something that not only have they always seen, but of something that they know has always been there. These three women drew rural scenes based on emotional, historical and cultural notions of rural communities, and the abrupt disruption in its continuity that the mine represents. While none of them relied on agricultural activities as their primary source of income and subsistence at this time³⁵, they nevertheless strongly associated these activities with what *belongs* in the landscape, and therefore, with the type of physical and cultural disruption that the mine represents. The disruption of the mountain landscape, then, I argue, has an impact on the women's lives, as it directly disrupts enduring processes of meaning-giving to landscape, continuity and of way of life, and thereby, their sense of place and self.

6.3.2 Belonging through water

As mentioned before, water is the most frequently mentioned natural feature in regards to the mine's impact and in anti-mining movements (Bury, 2002), and is particularly linked to women, their activities and responsibilities and everyday lives (Jenkins, 2014b; Li, 2009b). It is, then, worth giving particular attention to the role it plays in the women's stories. I will start by exploring the vital connections that are made between mountains and water. Laura's (50, Cajamarca) map (#4) depicts two of the lakes that have disappeared due to the coming of the Yanacocha mine. She said:

³⁵ Though all three had to some extent at some point in their lives.



Map 4: Laura³⁶.

Top half: Lake Pato and Lake Corazon as they existed before the Yanacocha mine came, shaped like a duck and a heart. Bottom half: what the scene looks like now: a hole in the ground with various smaller sources of water still existing.

Laura: *"Here like it was before, more or less... this was a lake, and because of the shape, it was called 'Pato'³⁷. Beautiful. Another lake – 'Corazon'³⁸. These, and many others, they are now like this: a massive hole. There's nothing. There's nothing, nothing."*

Inge: *"Is this the mine?"*

Laura: *"Yes. Here... in some places there is water, like this. Of this colour. In other places, like this."*

Inge: *"Red?"*

Laura: *"Yes, red, green."*

Inge: *"Have you seen it?"*

³⁶ Map "4.5", the backside of Laura's map included here, can be found in Appendix IV.

³⁷ Duck.

³⁸ Heart.

Laura: "Yes." (#54)

In Laura's map, non-natural colours are again of concern, and provide a visual clue of out-of-placeness. This is also articulated and drawn by Beatriz (65, Bambamarca, Map 5). She splits her time between the town of Bambamarca, and a rural community where she grew up and owns some land. She explains:



Map 5: Beatriz

Top left: a field of potato crops in the rural community where she grew up, as they were before the mine came. The plants are green and healthy. She writes: "Without mines – the land produced a lot more". Right side and bottom left: the land as it is now, with barley and corn crops in the present day, which are smaller and have the wrong colours; blue and orange instead of green. She also depicts two contaminated rivers, in orange. Please note that, to ensure Beatriz's anonymity, I have redacted from this map: her real name, the name of her community and the name of the river running by it.

Beatriz: "... we have two rivers [...] and it is lost that, in my childhood, I knew clean water, clear water. And... years later, the waters came in a yellow colour, in a medium-green colour, [containing] lead...

Inge: "And what is happening here?"

Beatriz: "Before, green. And here is the corn, now I'm going to make it how it is now. [...] this is the before, green. The land produced more: potatoes, these are

potato plants, before, it was all green, it was all beautiful, right? And now, at the moment, this is barley, and this is corn, now it appears with yellow stains, almost like the colour of the [redacted] river, and this is the colour the oats have, the barley, the beans that we sow, they come out with colours like this, with this colour, and before it wasn't like that. And they say it's because of the... because of the mines."

Inge: *"Because of the pollution."*

Beatriz: *"Yes. The corn has yellow leaves."* (#55)

Beatriz's map and commentary clearly show that what she associates most with the coming of the mine is the changes of the rural landscape; from green and productive, to orange and polluted – both in terms of crops and in terms of the water in the rivers. The change in landscape has a direct impact on her everyday life, as growing crops for her own consumption to sell at the local market is how she sustains herself. The mine makes its presence known to her through the discolouration; it is hiding in plain sight, affecting her ability to continue her life in the way she always has. Spreading its impacts through water, the mine becomes regarded as a site of disruption with very far-reaching consequences; Beatriz can no longer go about her daily activities without being reminded of it, and of the negative things she associates with it³⁹.

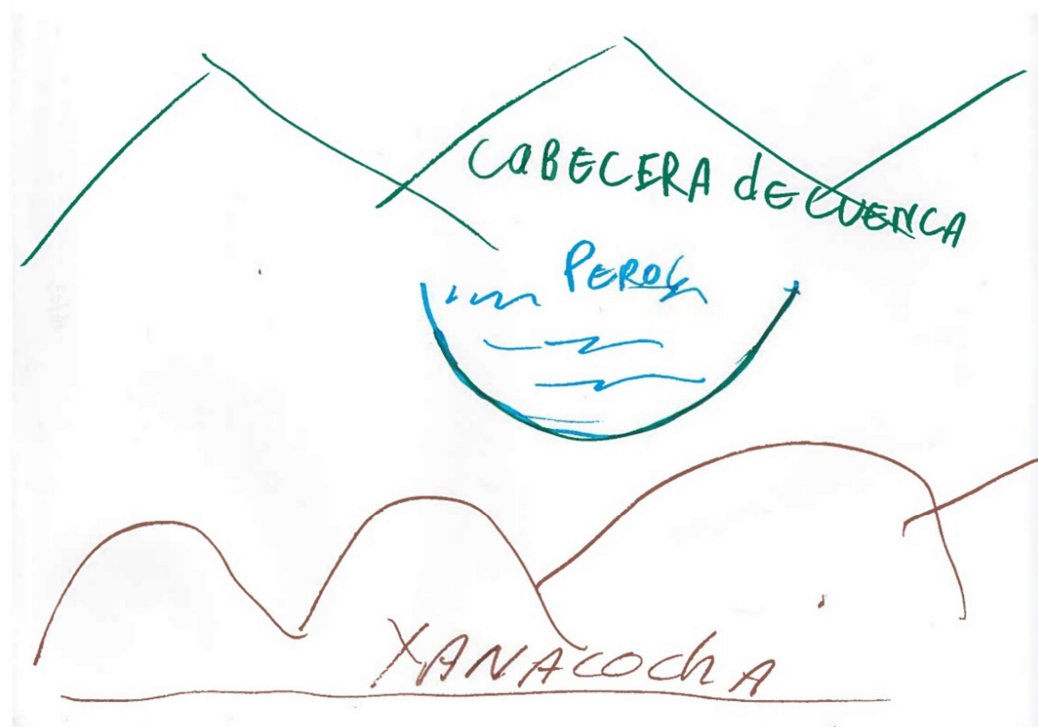
If mountains are (or were) stable factors, water is and has always been ever changing and cyclical – e.g. in the Andean conceptualisation of the hydrological cycle (Boelens, 2014; Mazadiego et al., 2009), and seasonal cycles generally defined through the presence or absence of rain. Since water is ever changing, the problem the mine brings here is that the kind of changes that occur are considered wrong and unnatural. The mine is seen to interrupt the natural cycles the water are related to, thereby altering quality and quantity of water in the many different forms it takes, as well as the local interpretations that are given to the water itself (explored in the rural setting by De la Cadena (2015b); Li (2009b)). Julia (62, Cajamarca), for example, comments on how groundwater levels are considered affected by the mine:

"here, at three or four meters [down], they had water [...] now... two or three years ago, they told me 'look, now we have to dig, twenty, fifteen, ten meters, because there's no water, it seems like the water table is lowering.' So, we also know, believe, and are sure that... even the groundwater is running out. [...] this water is brought to the mine so it can do its mining activities, but for the population, it's very difficult." (#56)

³⁹ Map 11 in Appendix IV similarly shows wilting crops in a village near Bambamarca

The changes that occur in the presence of the water are not natural, rather, they are seen as occurring as a result of something man-made and out of place. The disappearance of water is conceived as part of a disturbance of intricate connections understood to exist between water and mountains. The relationship between the two is complex, as evidenced by e.g. Reinhard (1985), and Sherbondy (1998), who discuss that high mountain lakes are often seen as the origin place of communities. Furthermore, Sherbondy (1998) explains:

“Mountains have snow-caps that form streams and rivers⁴⁰, but there are also many mountains considered water sources that show no empirical evidence of being water sources. It is a widespread belief that large subterranean lakes lie under mountains and that these are the sources of waters that flow from the general direction of these mountains” (p.212)



Map 6: Stefanie

Top half: Lake Perol, a highland lake and a source of water feeding into rivers that are important to campesinos. Surrounded by green mountains with sharp peaks Bottom half: the mountains by the Yanacocha mine: brown (i.e. without vegetation), rounded peaks.

As I have mentioned in chapter 3, Li (2013) explored how mount Quilish was constructed to be an aquifer of this type. Furthermore, I would argue this can be seen in Sandra's map (#2), where rivers of healthy water begin at the bottom of mountains. Relating to this more directly, Stefanie (56, Celendín, Map 6) draws a map of a contrast, showing two different locations; the top half features the Perol lake, which would disappear if the

⁴⁰ N.B. this is not true for Cajamarca, rather it is upstream high-mountain lakes that supply water to rivers.

Conga mine opened. The lower half shows the mountains surrounding the Yanacocha mine as they currently are. She says:

“Look, at Conga, how beautiful it is... and because of this, that it’s a mountain, Conga means that there’s water on all sides [...] I know that Conga is, Conga is where there is water on all sides.” (#57)

Note how the region of Conga to her intrinsically means that there is a lot of water, and water on all sides. She continues:

“Imagine, how am I going to believe that? The two extremes – this green, and everything you walk in, touch, and you walk, oh how you walk in... in the water, what’s it called? The colchon acuifero⁴¹. And over here there is... there is, what is it called... everything here, bofedales⁴², the bofedales are so beautiful. It’s a mountain that gives water to everything, and it’s feeding the river, the river... and everything here is going to be polluted, it’s going to be polluted.” (#58)

In essence, the existing water areas under threat, such as those of the Conga region, represent a ‘before’ that still exists, but is under threat by the potential of turning into the ‘now’ as it is elsewhere.

While the extent to which *Cajamarquina/os* relate to ‘earth beings’ in the landscape, and whether their invocation of mount Quilish as an ‘Apu’ was based on tradition, activist strategy or a combination of both should certainly be debated (Li, 2013) – from my experiences and conversations I would not doubt that the narratives of mountains as aquifers containing underground water were genuine, and considered common sense in a way as to have predated activism and activist narratives. Underground aquifers in mountains, *bofedales* and *colchones acuiferos* as important sources of water for communities were mentioned in passing, to give me context and help me understand. In addition to water and mountains being connected, different sources of water are considered to be connected to each other, and these *colchones acuiferos* play a central part in the hydrological system of lakes, wells and sources of water, rivers, rain, and others (Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017). I was told that the lakes are connected to each other and feed into one another, and that the connection between mountains and water, and water entities with each other is intricate and fragile, which means that damaging one lake is damaging many, as well as all the rivers that lead off from it. As I outlined in chapter 3, Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017), show that in this way, *campesinos* consider

⁴¹ The aquiferous sponge; see below.

⁴² Fonkén (2014): “In Peru, the term “bofedales” is used to describe areas of wetland vegetation that may have underlying peat layers.” (p.1)

the mine to affect waters that the company does not consider part of its direct impact zone. The mining company and the local population, then, have very different interpretations of the physical extent of the mine's impacts on nature. While the mining company recognised its direct impacts on the lakes of Conga, and proposed to replace them with reservoirs, they do not recognise the indirect affects that the communities articulate here: that more than the lakes of Conga, the entire water and ecosystem would be affected if the highland lakes disappear. The engineers then hold a singular view of relationships between man and nature, in line with Western modes of thinking, not fully shared by communities in the area (e.g. Escobar (2007); Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017); Stensrud (2016)). The remainder of this section will focus on women's views of disturbed water, and its impacts.

6.3.2.1 On being alive, on being dead, on being out of place

Building on my discussion on the contrast between the 'before' and the 'now' as set out in chapter 5, this is similarly invoked in the women's narratives of the inherent value of water. The water 'before' the mine was a source of healing and life; for example, Clara (45, Cajamarca) talks about the water's inherent healing qualities:

"Before, we cured ourselves with just water [...] What did mum do? For three days, she gave us only water. And it cured us. [...] my mum said, 'why do you eat so much? Here, right away: three days with water.' Now, on the other hand, we won't live without medicine." (#59)

Human, animal and plant health is often central in conjuring the contrast of water 'before' and water 'now'. However, I would argue it goes beyond that; disease does not just infect living beings because they consume polluted water, rather, it is through pollution that the water itself becomes diseased, and this becomes represented in living beings that consume it. This links in to De la Cadena (2015a)'s exploration of how in Andean worldviews, entities such as rivers can be considered killed by contamination and change, rather than simply considered 'altered'. Alejandra (52, Bambamarca) used this notion of 'aliveness' when discussing the importance of the connection between different sources and locations of water, describing the interruption by the mine:

"These sources of water are drying up, they dry... those that never dried up, they dry up, why? Because now it doesn't have its life anymore, now it doesn't have its base in the earth." (#60)

This, again, is why reservoirs can never be sufficient replacements for natural lakes, born in place and part of natural systems. Water reservoirs were created after the opening of the Yanacocha mine are depicted in Sandra's map (#2). She explained:

"So, here, there's many lakes, I'm going to draw the lakes that are dry now in black... black, now they're not there. For example, there's the Corazón lake. [...] It doesn't have water now. The Corazón, the Yanacocha lake as well. [...] The flow is very little. But that's where there's mining. Here's where the water comes [...] and this is the Milagro reservoir, it's treated, with a lot of chemicals. That's why I want you to understand me – that here, this is the Milagro reservoir, it's a big reservoir where they treat the water. They put, they put chloride – I'll write it here, chloride – chloride, arsenic, I don't know [what else], to make the water clear. [...] this here is treated water, with chloride, with various things... so, from here it comes to Cajamarca city. But these rivers are... they're almost, it can... polluted. Polluted." (#61)

While in the singular view of nature held by engineers, the problem of contamination is solved by treating polluted water to be fit for human consumption or human interaction, for Sandra, this does not solve the problems she sees. As outlined, water sources are seen part of the living landscape, belonging in a specific place, and are 'alive' themselves. The polluted water, that is then considered killed, or at the very least diseased, infiltrates other living things and makes itself visible and known within the living landscape through discolouration and spreading illness, such as those described and portrayed by Sandra (Map 2) and Beatriz (Map 5). Water once killed by pollution cannot be brought back 'to live' by being treated; being safe for use does not change the fact that it came from contaminated rivers that spread the death that the mine comes to represent. As Sandra explains, the addition of chemicals such as chloride means that the water is not a good fit for Cajamarca city; it is still altered and therefore out of place. De la Cadena (2015b) and Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) explore how *campesinos* consider treated water as 'not the same water', and thereby, not able to sustain the same bodies and territories; Sandra's interpretation of the water in Cajamarca city suggests that urban dwellers can hold similar views, and should therefore not be overlooked in these discussions. The absence of clean, healthy and alive water has far-reaching implications for them as well that cannot easily be summed up when approaching it from a Western 'human versus nature' approach, but rather calls for a need to see the system as connected and belonging in place.

If the polluted water comes to represent the spread disease and death, it is not surprising that this is what it is seen to spread into the further landscape and its inhabitants. Luz

(66, Bambamarca) and Beatriz (65, Bambamarca) explained that such water ‘burns’ plants and crops, something that relates to the discolouration of staple crops such as corn, potatoes, peas and barley; appearing in this way because they have been burned by the polluted water. Beatriz said:

“We’re going to defend ourselves, if the miners won’t listen to us, won’t go away and leave or land in peace, because it’s about water. That... let’s say, every living being – human, animal, plant... and the earth as well, which is mother earth, that feeds us, all of us, and this earth has already been polluted now, now the crops are different. There are a lot of diseases in the food, a lot of diseases in the animals, and a lot of diseases in people as well, which is the product of... they’re investigating how the children, and several people, adults as well, have lead in their blood, this has been studied.” (#62)

Since the mine has led to changes that were unheard of, by disrupting the connections between the earth and the water, and water sources with each other, diseased or dead water takes the place of alive water in the landscape, affecting the bodies within it. For example, Julia (62, Cajamarca) told me:

“... now they told me, in, for example... in the countryside they say, ‘now the animals die, because there’s no grass,’ – or, what will happen is, the grass gets poisoned, now it dies, now it doesn’t grow like before, they tell us that, right?” (#63)

This recalls Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017)’s notion of different water making different types of bodies, as a result, the crops are ‘different’ now through consuming water that is considered polluted by the mine, which spreads disease to plants, animals and people. Furthermore, Luz (66, Bambamarca) talks about how at times (and unlike ‘before’) the water from her tap has come out black:

“So, they’re not just poisoning us outside, but even inside our house.” (#64)

The strange, wrong water infiltrates their own homes, highlighting the far-reaching violation the women feel the mine is responsible for; as well as the scope its unhealthy geography has taken. For these rural Cajamarcan women, there is no escaping the impacts of the mine, as its physical reminders spring up in so many ways. Luz explained they were told, simply, ‘to boil the water well, really well’, but the water that used to bring life, now brings illness and death; more than that, it used to be alive, but now is dead, similar to the landscape it is part of. Sandra (58, Cajamarca, Map 2) contrasts this with the life in the areas yet unaffected by the mine, such as Cushunga:

"There's grass, there's trees... there's trees, there's all of this [...] what I mean is, there's life. There's trees. So... birds, as well! As well. Here, for example, here there's birds. I can't draw a bird, but something like this. These are birds that come to the countryside. [...] Here there's some rivers... there's houses, there's houses, there's life, there's life, there's houses... their houses... there's houses here, along the river, there's various houses. Good. And here everything is green too, this is green, but [only] where there's no mining. Where there is mining it's terrible, because there's nothing." (#65)

She says 'there's life' – this is central to people's understanding of the landscape in its natural state; it is alive, which it visually communicates through being green. The mine, instead, is dead, represents death, and spreads death; it is therefore out of place in the strongest sense. As Eva (54, Cajamarca) told me during our trip to the Amazonas region of Peru:

"This place is still natural, it's alive. We come from a sad experience – all we see in Cajamarca is death, death." (#66)

So, due to the mine coming to Cajamarca, the women have gone from interpreting part of the region as alive to interpreting it as dead. Of course, this directly refers to the part where the mine itself resides, where nothing will grow and 'green' has disappeared, but moreover, the further countryside has become seen as more dead as a result: Sandra drew disappeared lakes and heavily polluted rivers in black. As the polluted rivers stream into the countryside, they spread the death and disease they now carry – which is reflected in several maps in orange, red and yellow rivers, red and orange crops (see Map 1, 2, 4 and 5); and in Sandra's (and others') stories about life disappearing:

Sandra: *"We'll make a sun here, a sun, with its eyes, with its mouth. And with its ears."*

Inge: *"Ears too!"* [both laugh]

Sandra: *"So, the sun gives us life... it has to be present in all our activities. The sun is what gives us life, right? But unfortunately, in these lands here [mining affected lands] it doesn't give anything anymore, here it doesn't work, these are places... dead places, that will never again be able to, eh... give life. Vegetables, no more, these terrains are now, how do you call it... they're... dead, that they don't produce anything. With black, that's all. But it has another name, these places that don't work anymore, it is that now they don't... terrains that... that don't produce anymore. Unreturnable... irrecoverable⁴³! They're irrecoverable."*

Inge: *"Oh, right. It means that they can never..."*

Sandra: *"Irrecoverable, yes. Mining, that's what mining is." (#67)*

⁴³ "Irestituible... irrecuperables".

Of course, the sun has a long history of being considered a source of life and agriculture in the Andes. As I mentioned before, Li (2013) discussed how in rural communities close to the mine, while for religious reasons the inhabitants could not speak of the sun as holy, that did not mean that they did not treat it as such. A similar construction seems to be invoked by Sandra here. However, the sun alone cannot give life in places that have already been killed. This is the power she ascribed to the mine: that it can kill, and kill forever; the land is 'irrecoverable', there is no way back from the destruction the mine brings to these areas; and no natural forces can counter it. Water that has been killed cannot be brought back to life. That, she says, is what mining is: in its very essence, it symbolises death, the end of natural processes. In other words, the unnatural forces of the mine can overcome even powerful natural entities – like sun, or, as seen before, mountains, as well as of course, water itself, which becomes how the mine can even spread into the further landscape. The water in the 'now', then, has become a source of danger: not only do its healing qualities no longer reach, the pollution and the unpredictability of the water means that it has become, in essence, a stranger, through the interference and methods of the mine. In chapter 5, I have shown that people from Cajamarca, through their words and actions, could become 'outsiders'. The stories told here show that the same can happen to nature and natural beings: through the actions of the mine, they can become strange, and cease to belong.

6.3.2.2 *Negative consequences and divine intervention*

As Trudeau (2006) argues, landscapes are, in part, a visual representation and communication of belonging. If the physical environment no longer is as it 'should be', but has come to represent a discontinuity between past and present, it becomes imbued with new meaning, and new associations, and a new 'status quo'. To the women, the mine's design on landscape communicates how their own values and ideas are at risk of outcompeted by an entity and ideology more powerful than theirs. This highlights how, while the women consider themselves 'insiders' and the mine 'outsider', they are not the ones with the most power. As a result, this disruption is not simply a disruption of 'everyday life', but also, fundamentally, of the meaning assigned to it. Women such as Sofía (Map 1) and Beatriz (Map 5) in communicate daily life and landscape as intricately connected through the notion of belonging – activities that belong, undertaken by people that belong, resulting in landscape characteristics that belong, appear in their depiction of the 'before', and are disrupted in the 'now'. Similarly, all of Sandra's stories show that the mine interrupts, rather than is part of, the landscape in her imagination; the

disappeared peaks, the wrong colours, the birds disappearing. She calls the land that is used or impacted by the mine ‘unproductive’. This stands in stark contrast with government-driven economic interpretations of the mine embodying productivity by its very essence, while classifying the land without or before mining as ‘unproductive’ (De la Cadena, 2010; Li, 2009a; Tsing, 2000). Imagined landscapes are thus constructed on both sides of the narrative, and therefore one of the central clashes taking place between companies and the population is one of interpretation of the landscape, but beyond that, on the value that is placed on the way of life associated to it. Small-scale agricultural activity, what mine and government might describe as “low-productivity” and an obstacle to development, is the kind of productivity that belongs in the landscape for women like Sandra, Sofía and Beatriz, and therefore, where it occurs landscape is shaped through the kind of human activity that belongs in a place; recalling Li (2009b)’s description of how Cajamarcan *campesinos* frame people, landscape and water as shaping each other.

As dead water and scarred mountains turn the landscape from being interpreted as healthy to being interpreted as diseased, the women frame ‘outsiders’ as leading this process: the mine itself as a disturber of landscape, the miners and other people that support the mine through the work they do, or enable. In this way, their outsider values, i.e., materialism and individualism, with economic growth as a primary goal (as explored in chapter 5) come to shape the design of the landscape. Since these values do not fit with Cajamarca, the landscape and the nature in it cannot sustain it. As a result, ‘insiders’, both human and non-human, must disappear. Lakes are destroyed, mountains are moved, plants die. Furthermore, local people themselves become out of place, when they lose their land and have to move, or their freedom to roam is constricted. The lives of urban dwellers do not necessarily take place solely in the urban landscape: several women I spoke to in the city owned land in the countryside, and some of them would go back several times a week to tend crops and look after animals, highlighting that the city/countryside divide, while definitely experienced, is also fluid, with some women moving easily between the two worlds. Laura (50, Cajamarca) considers this possibility interrupted by the coming of the mine:

“now we don’t have this liberty. We can’t go where we like, because now everything has an owner – it’s Yanacocha’s. Everything is Yanacocha, everything is Goldfields, the transnational companies. [...] On the other hand, before we could go wherever we liked. [...] So, now we don’t have these freedoms in our own lands.” (#68)

The companies, the 'outsiders', then, have restricted the *Cajamarquina/os*' own access to certain parts of the land, and this is another way in which its use is disturbed and interrupted. Other insiders are considered to be forced to disappear from the landscape as well, as animals become extinct or rare in specific places. As Sofía (27, Cajamarca) told me:

"Concerning negative impacts [of the mine] – the flora, the fauna, the ecosystem in general, and above all, well... the water. The pollution of the environment, the disappearance and the extinction of some species, like I mentioned before, the frogs, and some birds that... that also... I remember... one year, when I was young I went to a lake, and there were a ton of birds, loads, loads. And so, I was there, and there appeared the... the ducks, they called them ducks. And a few years ago we went, and they said, the men of Yanacocha said: 'and sometimes there's ducks that come to swim.' Sometimes, no! Because when I went in the years before, those ducks lived there constantly, those ducks. And now they're not there anymore." (#69)

The women talked a lot about disappearing birds and frogs in particular. My interpretation is that frogs and birds are beings that belonged to the countryside as an integral part of the living landscape, and have been forced out and disappeared by outsiders that do not belong to the community, history, or the landscape. These outsiders, then, in Sofía's story, try to renegotiate the landscape through claims that the ducks come 'sometimes', when she knows they used to be there 'always'. The frogs and birds don't just visually belong to the landscape; they are also experienced in an auditory sense. It is no coincidence that the two types of animals that people talk about having disappeared the most, are loud, are clearly present, and so their absence is felt through multiple senses; they made the non-visual aspect of the landscape feel alive.

While nobody made the direct connection in my conversations and interviews, in some Andean water cultures, frogs are considered to invoke rain (Boelens, 2014). It might therefore be a coincidence that frogs were mentioned a lot, or it may be that their disappearance is in fact also linked to, or a metaphor for, the changing rain-cycle. Rain is an important manifestation of water in people's lives. If water is what connects people, plants, animals and other beings in the landscape, the rain is one of the vital ways through which water keeps the system in motion. The rainy season in Cajamarca starts in October – just as I arrived – but by late November 2016 we had still seen hardly any rain. Julia (62, Cajamarca) relates the lack of rain to the disappearance of plants and animals in the landscape:

“Not even the trees grow. Because before there was plenty of rain, right? Eh... it rained, rained, rained, plenty of rain, and the vegetation was more green, right? We had greener vegetation... right? We had, also, more animals, right?” (#70)

The lack of rain, then, for her causes a further disruption in the landscape's ability to continue as it used to be – and is supposed to be – and sustain the lives of all the beings that are meant to be present in it. The drought played heavily on people's minds, both in the countryside and in the city, and dominated some of my early interviews, particularly in Bambamarca, where crops were already starting to dry up. Mariela (36, Bambamarca) explained the rain's importance to me in simple terms:

“The rain is at the base... water is what sustains people. And animals, and plants.” (#71)

Boelens (2014) describes how when critical changes in water cycles occur, communities may turn towards traditional beliefs and ancestry to find answers, control, and consolidation, even when they partly consider it 'superstition'. I would interpret this as a turn to the familiar in order to communicate what belongs and what is out of place. The specific way nature is meant to manifest, assigned through spirituality, can also lead to the women to credit changes in natural patterns to divine intervention. If the rain is the 'base', as Mariela says, the altering of this link in the hydrological cycle is a big concern. Yet, alterations in patterns in the rain cycle are seemingly far more disconnected from the mine's activity than, say, a disappeared lake or a contaminated river. Where water pollution is measurable; through strangely coloured water even visible, the altering of the rain cycle is not as easily linked directly to the mine. Thereby, however, tampering with it is considered a more serious offence by the women. Many of them were certain the rain cycle had been altered, and linked it to the mine in direct and indirect ways, in more divergent ways than contamination or decrease in water quantity. For example, the changing rain cycle can be used to understand how the women see the mine as exerting its power in sinister ways. Laura (50, Cajamarca), describes:

“Now we know that it's not nature anymore, that rules over if it rains or doesn't rain, but in reality, the transnational companies because they use bombs, they use chemicals, and why? We say: 'but why?' Out of evil? No. not just out of evil. But because the rain disrupts them, disrupts their work. So, it's inconvenient for them. They don't just drive away the rain, from the air, from the clouds, but they also damage, waste, and disappear the water from the soil, the sources, that never dried up before, they're not there anymore now. This is very damaging for us, and they will continue if we [the social movements] die down, if we don't continue to fight.” (#72)

Laura construes the mine and the mine-workers as having the ability to purposely alter the rain cycle to fit their own needs and benefits. What is worse, it is done partly out of evil; she interprets the mine as wanting to harm Cajamarca's 'insiders', nature included. By speaking about the mine in this way, it becomes constructed as a source of almost supernatural power; yet, on the other hand, as we have seen before, the mine *has* done things that had hitherto been thought impossible: move mountains and disappear lakes, simply because they were 'in the way' of its goal. The mine potentially *is* hindered by the rain: for operations to run, it must regularly pump excess water out of the pit, which is filled with groundwater and rainwater (Shevenell et al., 1999). If the rain *does* hinder the mine's operations, and the mine *has* proven it is able and willing to alter ancient and entrenched natural forces, then why would it not also be able to interfere with the rain cycle? Furthermore, considering the mine did move mountains, disappear lakes and contaminate rivers, and how this is interpreted as bringing disease and death to a formerly living landscape and its inhabitants, it is also not surprising that Laura interprets these powers as evil ones, intent on doing harm.

Other women understood the changing of the rain cycle as an indirect consequence of the mine: a result of divine punishment. These ideas are based on the mine being a crime against nature, and a misinterpretation of the religious design of the land. For example Valeria (50, Cajamarca), and Emma (63, Celendín), said, respectively:

"What they're doing is destroying the [divine] creation... for example, in Hualgayoc [...] they drained the whole lake, the people began to believe that God had punished us. It started not to rain, or rain when it shouldn't rain... the microclimates began, the illnesses began, all types of diseases." (Valeria) (#73)

"This is why we don't want Conga to come, for example. Because the poisons are fatal, the... the moving of the land is brutal, so, what future do we want to leave for our..., look, how we had this⁴⁴... with these... terrible rains⁴⁵ [...] and this is because they manipulate nature. God gave us nature, but, with us as guardians, not destructors, right? So we have to conserve it." (Emma) (#74)

For these women, the droughts and heavy rains are the fault of the mine in a more indirect way: those who manipulate nature and transform it into something unnatural need to be punished, and many others – themselves, plants, animals, and other inhabitants of the landscape – suffer as a result. Stefanie (56, Celendín) voices a similar view on the relationships people are meant to have with the landscape:

⁴⁴ Drought in October-November 2016.

⁴⁵ Present time during the interview; March 2017, causing floods across Cajamarca and Peru.

“...we know that we are part of nature, of the environment. And we aren’t the masters... no. Because, yes, in the way in which we are killing nature, we are also killing ourselves. So, we have to work, that is, together, with them [nature], [as if] we are another part of nature, not [as if] we are the masters.” (#75)

The relationship that should exist between people and nature is another fundamental misfit in the mine’s construction of place and landscape. According to the women quoted here, people are meant to have balanced relationships with nature, not try to rise above and alter it. Clearly, it is not all human intervention on the landscape that makes nature unnatural, and the women are not arguing to leave nature untouched. As Li (2009b) highlights, the Cajamarcan landscape is actively reflecting the *campesinos*’ way of life. Rather, the women are arguing for particular ways of interacting with nature which could be achieved through activities such as agriculture; in other words, a balanced relationship of give and take – a common philosophy in Andean cultures (Boelens, 2014). Such interaction with nature should be cyclical like nature itself, and take no more than it should; it would therefore be considered natural, unlike the mine. Through the obtained balance, the way of life that is in tune with natural cycles does not have to end. The mine, on the other hand, after running out of gold will be unproductive in both the locals’ perception of it (i.e., no potential for agriculture) and the government’s and mining companies’ perception of it (i.e., no potential to mine more minerals).

Camila (35, Cajamarca) also discusses the view that if we kill nature, this will come back to harm us:

“Because the mine’s pollution is intense [...] I believe that when man doesn’t respect nature, that’s when we suffer disasters, the disasters that we’re living through now, with the land slides, and the things... [...] disastrous, and who is responsible, right? Man. Because they don’t respect nature. And that’s when nature says, today: ‘that’s enough.’ [...] it’s a way for nature to protest. So I believe there’s evidence [that] [...] I think that the earthquakes, I think that the... that climate change, that we’ve produced it all, all, man. Because of... because of all this, right? The destruction of the earth.” (#76)

Camila does not ascribe the natural disasters to the supernatural in the way Stefanie and Emma did, rather she considers it a targeted, and conscious reaction of nature/natural forces to human intervention crossing boundaries that it should not (e.g. described elsewhere by De la Cadena (2010, 2015a); Harvey (2010)). As a reaction to human mistreatment of the natural system, nature becomes prone to punishing people; as a result, it becomes less reliable vis-à-vis people altogether. This is what Camila blames the mine (and other unnatural forms of human intervention) for: disrupting nature and

natural patterns and bringing repercussions for ‘insiders’ of Cajamarca, both human and non-human, and also for the world at large, at the scale of climate change. Dominating nature thus means altering it permanently, and irreversibly, whereas living *with* it means refers to the kind of human intervention that is balanced and belongs with a certain landscape, indicative of a particular way of life. Mining intervention is not made through these connections, does not fit into existing systems, and is a disruption that comes from the outside. By discussing the man-made natural damage related to the mine, the women put forward a growing sense of disconnectedness from nature and landscape; a disconnection that it neither natural nor wanted.

6.3.3 Expanding belonging in natural landscape

As I started exploring before, the notion of understanding the land and its components are of central importance to Sofía (27, Cajamarca). She continued explaining how her sentiment of knowing the land, and personally feeling the mine’s impacts on the land, make her more aware of what the mine truly means, i.e., the disruption of landscape, way of life implicated in it, and values associated with that. She says:

“At least in my, in my family’s case... we do feel it, we feel we are campesinos, and we feel that the mine does affect us [...] because we come from the region, we really know what impacts it [the mine] generates [...] people sometimes, people that are not from here – like in his⁴⁶ case! ... that are not from here, sometimes... not him, but all the same, they say ‘no, those ignorant campesinos’ – they belittle them, they insult them... that they don’t know, that the mine should come regardless, that Conga should come [...] but really, the people from the area do live... they are affected when there is no water.” (#77)

This reiterates how the coming of the mine makes ‘outsiders’ and ‘insiders’ of people in Sofía’s view – those who come from elsewhere cannot grasp the emotions that someone who comes from Cajamarca experiences, because they do not feel the same connection to place and landscape. This sentiment is often used in activist groups as well. In Celendín, for example, Stefanie (56) explained one of the key elements to the philosophy behind one of the main activist groups:

“...a long time ago, I got an invitation: ‘we’re going up [into the mountains], to see the lake.’ [Redacted] always said, ‘if we don’t’ – what was it? – ‘If we don’t know it, we can’t defend it.’” (#78)

“One doesn’t defend what one doesn’t know” is another way I have heard this philosophy described in Celendín, and it draws heavily upon the notion of the need to know and

⁴⁶ Her boyfriend

understand the landscape in order to feel a certain way about it. In other words, fostering and (re-)creating the emotional connection between people and the environment is a force fuelling activism through the desire to protect it. This desire to know first-hand is not just emotional, however, but relies on necessity as well. Laura (50, Cajamarca) talks about how when people would decry the impacts of the Yanacocha mine, the companies and government officials said:

“Show us your documentation, *[proving]* there was a river here’ ‘show us your documents, *[that show]* that there was life in the water here’, ‘we’ve found it dirty – you have polluted it, not us!’” (#79)

There was a need, then, for the activists to collect evidence of the changes that the mine brought, and several environmental groups have started learning to monitor the quality of the water and the life found in it, in order to be able to defend their claims of contamination and disappearance of species. Laura continued:

“now we can say: ‘look, this existed in my river,’ – like that, with my documentation – ‘these kinds of animals were in the river.’⁴⁷ Before, how could we, we couldn’t pronounce the names of the trichoptera, the ephemeroptera, the plecoptera... it seemed so difficult to us, that it occurred to us to give ourselves the names. For example, I’m Ephemeroptera. And I tell you, I gave myself this name, because it’s an animal... that purifies the water, and it has three tails, and it turns into a butterfly. And leaves. We learned that, in the water, there’s animals that are... engineers and architects. But they’re animals that we, with the bare eye, never could have seen. Or, if we would have seen them coincidentally, we wouldn’t have cared. But now we do, now we know they are indicators for clean water, for good water. And if they’re not there... even the smell, even the colour of the water, now we know it.” (#80)

Through her activism, her care for what was happening and her concern for the environment, Laura has got to know more animals that live in the water, and has started identifying with them and their characteristics. In other words, while before ‘she wouldn’t have cared’ about these animals, she now understands their importance and the central role they play in the ecosystem she is trying to protect – they belong to the river, and thereby, in the wider natural landscape. As Julia (62, Cajamarca) explains:

“now the waters are monitored, so they check, if the water lowers in its... now it doesn’t have a lot of quality, because now... now it doesn’t have the microorganisms that, that indicate that they’re clean and healthy waters, and that the water in Cushunga is a different kind of water.” (#81)

Again, the notion of a ‘different water’ is invoked here by an urban woman. I recall how Stensrud (2016) and Boelens (2014) described *campesinos* in Southern Peru being

⁴⁷ She is referring to micro-organisms in water, indicative of a certain water quality

flexible and adaptable in including scientific language and explanations in their narratives of nature and water; it seems that Julia is doing that here, through mixing both scientific interpretation of the water – it lacks these micro-organisms, therefore it is not optimally clean – with the local interpretation of the water: water affected by the mine is not clean, and therefore it is different water that does not fit. Through opposing the mine, women such as Julia and Laura have got to know new insiders; the microorganisms are ‘discovered’ to be important to water quality, and so, they become embraced as necessary and natural part of living landscape. As a result, as soon as these insiders become known, their presence is missed and water where they are absent is considered out of place, dead, and unable to fit the needs of *Cajamarquinos*. Natural micro-organisms, rather than man-made chloride and other substances, then, indicate water suitable for human consumption; again showing that human intervention is a manipulation of nature and existing relationship, rather than an improvement or even a solution to man-made problems.

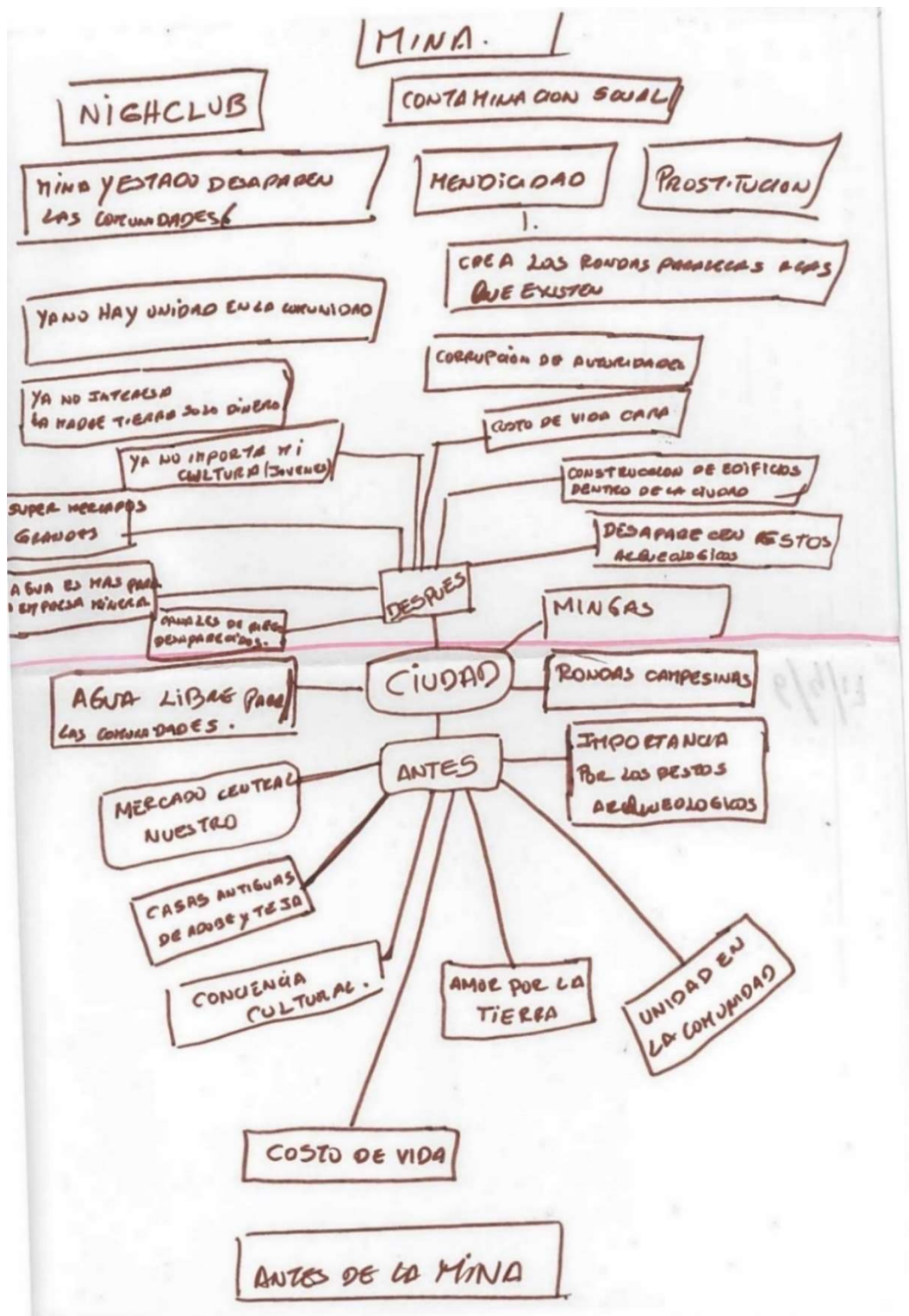
6.4 The mine and changes to urban landscapes

As I will explore here, the results of the coming of the mine and its workers are also visible in the urban landscape. As mentioned in chapter 2, the city of Cajamarca has grown tremendously as a result of the coming of the mine. Several observations regarding landscape, belonging in- and outsiders can be found in the work of other scholars (e.g. Brain (2017); Steel (2013)); though they are not articulated with these particular notions. On the one hand, the mine attracts high-skilled labourers from the coastal cities, as well as international people who generally hold the highest functions within the company. These often send their children to expensive private schools, that are being constructed for that purpose. Furthermore, while the city centre generally retains its provincial character, shopping centres and high-end real estate have been constructed on the outskirts of town in order to appeal to the new demographic of people working high-income jobs for the mine (Brain, 2017; Steel, 2013). On the other hand, land dispossession as a result of the mine leads to an increase of local rural-urban migration, resulting in an increase of poorer areas on the outskirts of town, often lacking access to basic services. This further alters the fringes of city landscape. Thus, the city is now home to more extremes on both ends of the spectrum: wealth inequality not only grows, it becomes more obvious (Steel, 2013); highlighting the division between local people and ‘outsiders’. The women who grew up in the city, in particular (as opposed to those who had moved there later in their lives), often addressed the rapid population

growth they had witnessed over the course of their lives; the in-migration of people working in the mine, or looking to get work in the mine or associated industries; and regional rural-urban migration of *campesinos* that have lost or sold their land to mining companies, and/or that are looking for work in the mine. While rural-urban migration is a worldwide phenomenon in middle-income countries (e.g. Lall et al. (2006)), again we see that the mine becomes framed as the central driving force behind the changes that women observe in the everyday landscapes of their lives.

The rift that appeared in communities as a result of the Conga mining activism, itself, is also still felt and present in the very heart of Cajamarca city – the *Plaza de Armas* is home to the city's cathedral on one end, frequented by Cajamarca's upper middle class who support the mine; the San Francisco church on the other, frequented by the city's poorer inhabitants, who oppose the mine. In fact, the San Francisco church featured centrally in many of the stories I was told about the time of heavy activism, as it was an important hub during the most intense times of protest; it was the main place where people re-grouped, took care of injured protesters, and where many who had come from the countryside slept. The church's priest and one of the associated nuns also featured heavily in some of the women's stories, explaining how much they had meant to the social movements, and how they suffered from criminalisation, threats, and violence – the nun having to move away and the priest dying under mysterious circumstances. Even though the new priest was described as 'more afraid', and not as open to let people use the church as a sanctuary should it ever be needed, the San Francisco church continues to be the church frequented by people opposing Conga; the Cathedral across the square continues to be for those that support it, and is associated with the affluent middle class. This means that this dividing line is still an everyday reality for many people, which has become part of the city landscape⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Furthermore, Marilou's map 13 in appendix IV shows the persisting disruption experienced in the urban landscape in the town of Celendín, resulting from the violence and deaths that occurred there during the anti-mining movements. I have chosen not to further include it here as Marilou's story, overall, leaves her vulnerable to be identified.



Map 7: Camila

Central: 'ciudad', city. Above: después (after), the city currently: supermarkets, decreased water quality, less interest in local culture, especially amongst young people, less interest in mother earth in favour of money, less sense of unity, disappearing communities, coming of nightclubs, social contamination, prostitution, begging, corruption, high cost of living, construction of [large] buildings, disappearance of archaeological remains. Below: antes (before), the city before the mine: market place for local people, houses made from traditional material (adobe), more social awareness, cost of living [lower], love for the earth, unity in the community, archaeological remains considered important, [more] Rondas Campesinas, mingas [line indicating this goes in the 'before']

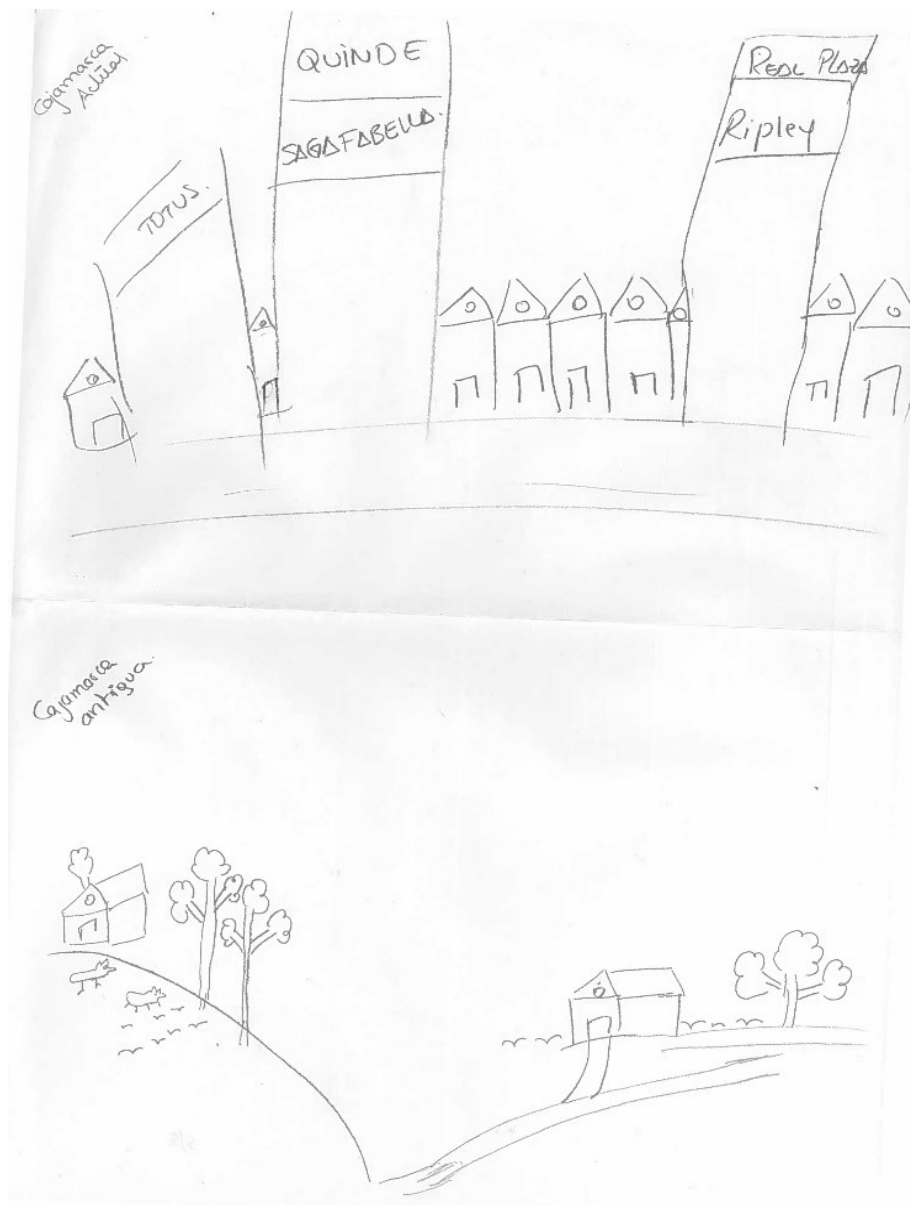
Instead of a map representing the physical landscape, Camila (35, Cajamarca) drew a mind-map (#7) where she contrasted the before (*antes*) and after (*después*) in Cajamarca city (see also Luisa's map, #10). In her 'before', Camila highlighted some of the things discussed here and in the previous chapter: there was unity between people, reciprocity (*mingas*), love for the earth, heritage and culture, and access to clean water. In the after section, she describes, amongst other things, a variety of social ills that she associates with the coming of the mine – decrease in value placed on culture and social capital, the coming of nightclubs and large supermarkets, and increase in prostitution. These are the sorts of social ills and new values that many women negatively associate with the coming of the mine, as outlined in chapter 5, that of course have a physical presence in the urban landscape, both through buildings and the people that are associated with them. Ana (42, Cajamarca) describes:

“But, for example, now, people don't admire [traditional values] – it's as if... one gets used to that there are deaths, that there are murders, that one will see a promiscuous lady in the street.” (#82)

As set out in the previous chapter, changes in urban way of life are strongly associated with changing values, morality, and resistance to it is particularly linked to notions of increasing individualisation and materialism being imposed, directly and indirectly, by the mine, as a representation of Western forms of modernity. Natalia's (37, Cajamarca) map (#8) shows several of the large shopping malls and supermarkets present in the 'now', at the expense of more space for nature. This contrast, then, is the disrupting modernisation associated with the mine made visible: the coming of the supermarkets and shopping malls, the nightclubs made for entertaining the 'miners', the international schools for their children, the big cinemas that have put the small local ones out of business, the kind of houses built by people that work for the mine, etcetera. All have a physical presence in the urban landscape, and therefore people's lives as they take place in it. To Natalia, this represents the growing affluence of *Cajamarquina/os* (see section 7.2.2), but for Sandra (58, Cajamarca) it is a representation of the contrast in the kind of lifestyle those working for the mine could afford, to what she had always considered normal:

“... many that work for the mine directly have had a lot of opportunities, they've bought cars, they've bought houses, and they've bought many nice things in their houses, right? In Cajamarca we never had a man like that, of the middle... the middle... the middle class. They didn't have a car, they didn't even have a bike, but now that the mine has entered, they bought cars. They bought cars, they bought motos⁴⁹, they bought many things – especially houses.” (#83)

⁴⁹ A type of three-wheeled vehicle, often used as a cheaper alternative to taxis.



Map 8: Natalia⁵⁰

Top half: Cajamarca city as it is now, many houses in a row all bordering each other, as well as several shopping malls, department stores and supermarkets (Totus, el Quinde, Saga Fabella, Real Plaza, Ripley). She writes: 'Current Cajamarca'. Lower half: Cajamarca city before the mine came: a rural landscape depicting two houses that do not directly border each other; cows, plants, and trees are present. She writes: 'Old Cajamarca'.

So, it is in part the big houses, the cars, moto-taxis and motorcycles, that set the 'new Cajamarcans' apart from the people that were already there. These are obvious, visible displays of wealth, that not only bring visible alterations in people's everyday surroundings, but also become a visual representation of the class divide newly present in the city; making relative poverty more visible. Of course, research has indicated that

⁵⁰ No markers used as her children were playing with them!

higher relative poverty is a strong indicator for unhappiness; as it makes one aware of what they lack in comparison to others (e.g. Asadullah and Chaudhury (2012); Clark et al. (2008)). The presence of status symbols in the landscape makes people more aware of what they could or feel they should aspire to, another way in which the coming of the mine, through its visual aspects, may be seen to alter priorities and values.

When Camila describes her culture as disappearing, she is also experiencing this in connection to physical presences within the landscape. On her mind-map (#7), she describes how the local connection to history – and thereby culture – is disrupted in the topic of archaeological remains, which she explains have disappeared from their original location in rural landscapes:

“A part of our culture has disappeared as well. They’ve destroyed, for example, the archaeological remains. On the higher bit [of the mountains] by Yanacocha. What have they done? They’ve excavated, they brought, let’s say, archaeologists, professionals, that took photos, they discovered this. There! Cool, it’s in a book. But it’s not there. So, I tell you, what good does having a book do me? If we say that here there was the pre-Inca culture of Cajamarca, [what good does that do] if in the end I only have it in a book? If I physically go, it’s not there! [...] they said ‘well, we’ve bought terrain in Cajamarca [city], we’re going to make a... a...’ supposedly, they were going to make, seven years ago, they were going to make a... a museum. Of everything they’ve destroyed up there.”⁵¹ (#84)

So, when Camila says that part of the culture has disappeared, in part she means this literally: the archaeological remains that belonged in the landscape, that were physical indicators of the long history of human presence, culture and ancestry in the region, are gone; disappeared through outsiders and their imposition on the landscape, their values, and their seeking for profit above all else. For Camila, it is local culture, communicated through physically remaining in place, that is sacrificed by outsiders.

The natural is also a factor in urban spaces and landscapes; some the women who have drawn maps of the city show how the urban landscape was transformed due to the need to build ever more houses, which happened at the expense of orchards, parks, and green spaces on the outskirts of the city. Little urban planning went into the expansion of the city; local governments did not have the tools needed to handle this (Steel, 2013). Sandra (58, Cajamarca), said:

“Yes, Cajamarca was small, see if you understand, down here there’s... the Santa Teresa school, all of this, behind it were... you could see the cows walking

⁵¹ She explained this museum does not exist and she considers it likely that the archaeological remains have been destroyed.

there, but now you can't anymore, look, how many houses in the mountains⁵², everything [...] A lot of houses, the population grew, too much. [...] Twenty years ago they it was small, more reduced, more... and now, well, there's so many people." (#85)

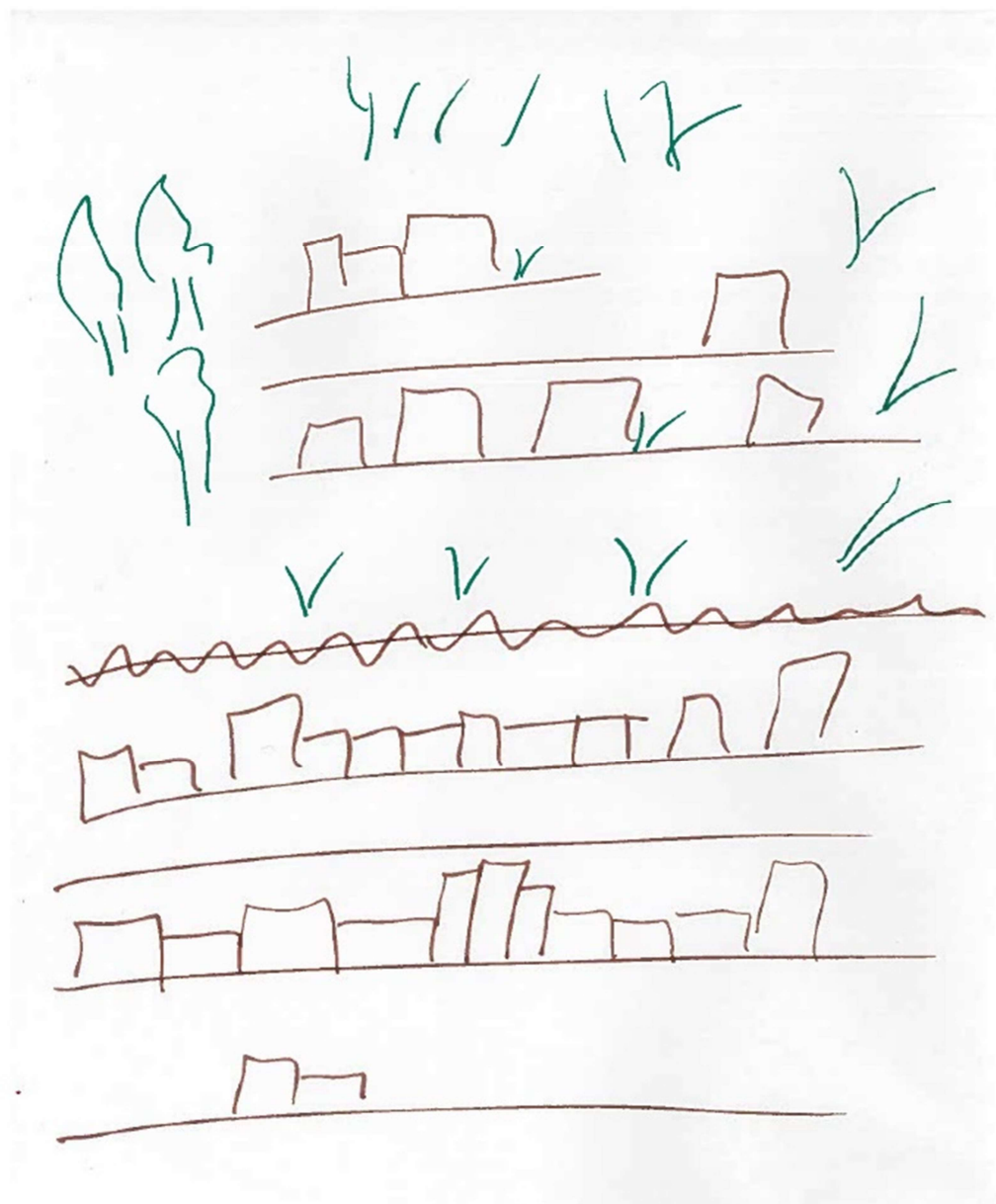


Figure 9: Ana

Top half: Cajamarca city before the mine came: green space between and around the houses. Lower half: Cajamarca city as it is now, with houses close together, no room left for green spaces; more houses overall indicating the city's expansion.

This contrast between Cajamarca city 'before', with green, and Cajamarca city 'now', lacking green, are visible in Natalia (37, Cajamarca)'s map, #8, and Ana's (42, Cajamarca) map, #9. The women experience the loss of green spaces in the city as an

⁵² Surrounding the lower lying city centre.

aesthetic and recreational problem, but it beyond that; many urban women occupied parts of their time with raising smaller animals such as chickens, guinea pigs and rabbits, some grew crops and herbs in their gardens or allotments; again highlighting how agricultural activity is not restricted to *campesinos*, and that the way of life associated with it 'the rural' may be interpreted in a more fluid manner. However, the loss of communal green spaces, and of space between houses, often inhibited the women from doing this in the present day. It is therefore common to hear stories about such activities having been far more prevalent in Cajamarca city 'before' the mine came, meaning the spatial restructuring of the city landscape has inhibited people from pursuing this livelihood strategy, which can be especially damaging for women, who are often the ones supplementing their and their households income in this way (Hovorka et al., 2009).

Apart from in such major ways, nature is lost from the city in small details that made everyday life enjoyable. For example, Valeria (50, Cajamarca) told me:

"now everything is paved, now we don't have this pleasant experience that you feel when you walk barefoot, feeling the fresh grass on your feet – it's so nice." (#86)

For her, clearly, the paving of the city has taken something away that she used to enjoy. Furthermore, she is invoking ideas of the loss of nature, and concrete versus nature in the city. Both roads and asphalt/concrete may be contested and interpreted differently by people in affected communities, and even disrupt community rituals relating to earth and soil (Harvey, 2010). In Valeria's case, of course, it is not a sacred ritual that is lost, but a part of her everyday life and direct embodied experience of, and interaction with, landscape, which is disrupted. However, on the note of concrete, improved infrastructure is one of the things that scholars often frame as a positive result of the coming of large-scale mining (Bury, 2005; Kitula, 2006; Macintyre, 2011; Parmenter, 2011). In Cajamarca, too, the opening of the mine directly led to more paved roads and motorways in the area, sometimes conducted by the company itself (Bury, 2005). Yet, framing this as a straightforward benefit for the community, then, proves to be an oversimplification. For example, when I asked Luisa (45, Cajamarca) if she thought the mine had brought benefits for the region she said:

"Benefits, none. That motorway that they have constructed, it's because their cars pass through there, to leave all that they need⁵³. It's for them." (#87)

⁵³ Supplies, etc.



Map 10: Luisa⁵⁴

Top half: Cajamarca city before the mine came: a house and two children playing outside with a ball. Lower half: Cajamarca as it is now, described in words. Food scarcity – because of lack of water; there is no water in the city. Consequences of Yanacocha's presence: prostitution, robberies, lack of work, insecurity of citizens: hitmen.

The fact that the road was built for the mine meant that, even though Luisa was free to make use of it, she would not consider herself as benefiting from it, as the company had built it for their own reasons with community benefits as an afterthought, or an opportunity for good publicity. For Luisa, the road is not *for* the community that belongs in Cajamarca,

⁵⁴ Map "10.5", the flip side of Luisa's map, can be found in appendix IV.

instead it is a symptom, and a visual reminder of wider changes and infiltration by outsiders. Ward et al. (2011) noted how increased traffic due to improved infrastructure might make roads more unsafe, and this was indeed pointed out by women living in the city, such as Luisa and Laura. The women that I spoke to who were mothers of young children in particular echoed this concern: due to the increased number of cars on the road, they stated that 'now' it is impossible to send children to walk around by themselves; a gendered concern as, as previously noted, it is women who carry the responsibility for the children's well-being. Ana (42, Cajamarca) remembers how as a child, she could walk and cross the street unsupervised, and Luisa reminisced about how 'before', children would safely run around playing in the streets. Luisa chose this as the main change to the landscape to illustrate on her map (#10): happy children playing in the street with their ball, being safe to run around on their own, 'before' the mine came. The interpreted loss of a simpler and more idyllic way of life is then physically represented in the urban landscape: instead of children playing, there are more cars⁵⁵. For Luisa, the playing children are a symbol of the safety that was present in the city before; not just in terms of traffic – contrast it with her notes on things she faces in the 'now' that she ascribes to Yanacocha; prostitution, robbery, lack of work and security; even hitmen. In other words, apart from traffic, there are plenty of reasons to no longer let children freely play outside. As outlined in the previous chapter, ideas about such changes in security, associated with the population growth of the city, featured heavily in urban women's stories and their sense of safety in their immediate surroundings. The various disturbances, impositions, relationships and change in values that the mine has meant for the people in the city is thus also communicated through their physical presence in the urban landscape, a reminder of the rapidly changing character of the city from a sleepy regional capital to an international mining hub. The arrival of the people working for the mine, combined with that of those dispossessed by the mine, has thus led to sharp contrasts in the day to day landscape of Cajamarca, through the visual reminders of the modernisation and the demands the mine-workers bring to the city.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the mine's disruption of landscape and place impacts the women's lives not just through its physical alteration of landscape, but also emotionally, cancelling long standing processes of meaning-giving and continuity, both in rural and urban environments. As I have highlighted, this is especially important to

⁵⁵ It is worth noting here, as similarly explored in chapter 5, that it is difficult to gauge how much of this is due to the coming of the mine and how much this would have changed regardless.

consider as interactions with place and landscape are necessarily gendered, especially in the case of water (Jenkins, 2014a; Li, 2009b). As the mine is seen to disrupt vital connections between sources of water, and mountains and water, it fundamentally influences some of the most basic, long-standing relationships that are considered inherent to the landscape. Using Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) and De la Cadena (2015b)'s notion of treated water being considered 'different water' by Cajamarcan *campesinos*, I have shown that this concern is similarly articulated by urban women who consider themselves *mestiza*. Notably, the mine is seen as doing so with intent; working against the local population's best interest by interfering with the natural state of things. As I have outlined, some of the things the mine does cross the line into the previously non-imaginable, e.g., moving mountains. Through such interventions in the physical landscape, the women come to understand the mine as an entity with supernatural powers, so fundamentally out of place as to incur divine or wilful natural intervention. This leads to unwanted disconnections between people and nature, as neither can rely upon the other to behave as they did 'before'. As a result, nature becomes a source of danger, disease, death and the unknown.

In the urban landscapes, similar disruptions between people and local nature as sources of livelihoods and well-being are noted, but the landscapes also become strange in other ways. Notably, they become representative of the disruption that the mine is constructed to bring, as outlined in the previous chapter: the driving forces of modernity and industrialisation. The mine, itself, is not small, but occupies just one physical location; in turn, the changes it brings are visible, and audible, in the landscape well beyond it: infiltrating the private sphere with black water coming out of the tap; the public through the opening of shopping malls. Through this power, it makes the familiar strange, turning nature, place and landscape itself into 'strangers', representing the 'other' and 'outsiders', rather than those who belong. Thereby, it slowly comes to communicate 'insiders' belong no more: their views, ideas and designs of what the landscape should be like become outdated and taken over by a new design. This puts insiders at risk of becoming outsiders themselves. In this way, the mine critically interrupts people's interactions with their everyday surroundings and landscapes, which were indicative of a way of life. As a result, I argue, to the women the mine represents not just a disruption of physical, but of emotional and cultural landscapes. In the next chapter, I will explore how these have motivated women to think about alternative possibilities for the future.

7. Women's imagined future scenarios in the presence and absence of mining and 'development'

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I critically analyse the role the mine plays in shaping the ways that women living with large-scale mining articulate imagined futures and development. Throughout this work so far, I have shown that mining has brought a sense of disruption in various aspects of the familiar, felt to deeply affect the women's everyday lives, in terms of culture and values, safety, natural and urban landscape and interactions with each other and nature. For many women, it is the fact that the mine *is* out there, and it *could* have negative impacts on various parts of their daily lives, that is an impact in its own right; it is a sword of Damocles taking up continuing presence in the background of their consciousness, with a potential to strike in unforeseen and unpredictable ways. As I have highlighted, the implicit threat in all of this is that the women themselves, with their ideas, values and attachments to place and landscape, will not only lose their ability to continue living as they always have, but lose their sense of belonging in place as a result of the changes the mine brings.

What is to come next for the region of Cajamarca is, of course, the 'after'; for the women, this is an area of vast differences of opinion, and a source of much discussion amongst the women and within the activist groups. Most women understood the potential of the opening of the Conga mine as a threat to their lives, livelihoods and surroundings, as it was to amplify the already felt negative impacts of the Yanacocha mine. The potential for more impacts on daily life, both foreseen and unforeseen, is why the project was so widely resisted; it represented a potential future, a particular continuation of an unwanted present, that could still be prevented. Just as Cohen (1985) argues that the present influences constructions of the past, and these constructions in turn influence present behaviour, Mische (2009) argues for the need to understand imagined futures in order to understand actors' behaviour in the present time. In this chapter, I critically examine how articulations of this imagined future come about, in particular related to the women's notions of 'development', and how they are based in imaginations of present day, living memory and historical time-frames. Additionally, I will critically explore their articulation of the mine and its absence/presence in the construction of these scenarios. I argue that

the women's relationships with the future are permanently altered through the coming of the mine, which has become central in communicating them, and radical to oppose.

In section 7.2, I analyse contrasting imagined futures specifically regarding the Conga project, in order to understand why this particular imagined future resulted in such opposing reactions. The Conga project being put on hold has opened up space for thinking about alternatives: if the Conga mine is not what is wanted, then what is? Because the future can take many forms, there are many different ways in which the women think about a best case scenario, involving economic development with (other types of) mining; economic development without mining (both explored in 7.3); or alternatives to economic development altogether (7.4). Here, I critically examine how women have continued to imagine alternative futures, both in a more classical capitalist setting, and in a critical context of challenging particular types of modernity, constructed through what the presence or absence of extractivism could come to mean for their region.

7.2 Contrasting imagined futures with the Conga mine

For some of the women I spoke to, the coming of the Conga mine clearly symbolised a potential 'worst case scenario' future, a continuation of the unwanted changes the Yanacocha mine has brought to meaningful relationships within communities and landscape as explored by chapters 5 and 6. Yet, there are also *Cajamarquinas* who lament the fact that the Conga mine did not proceed as planned. This section addresses imagined futures in the particular context of the Conga mine, by examining two opposing views of what its presence would mean for Cajamarca.

7.2.1 Worst case scenario

As outlined so far, for most of the women I interviewed, the potential coming of the Conga mine represents more than an inconvenience, but instead a continuation and intensification of all the negative impacts of Yanacocha. In this section, I explore the accounts of Camila and Emma, whose imagined future of the presence of the Conga mine comes down to 'there would not be one'. For Camila (35, Cajamarca), for example, it would mean the end of Cajamarca's potential to be lived in:

Inge: *"And what would your life be like, if there was more mining here?"*

Camila: *"I... I think... that if we continue to permit mining to expand here, and this becomes a mining district – because that is what they want, that it proceeds as a mining district – I've seen that it [the mine] would be three times the size of the city of Cajamarca. So, I think that there will not be a future for Cajamarca. No. Even though they say 'we are going to respect [it]', nothing, because it wouldn't be possible to live here. Or, if we do live [here], we're living, but at any moment we're going to die. Right? Because of... because of nature, right? ... Because of so much pollution. Because... there will be no way to live here. Cajamarca will disappear."* (#88)

Camila envisages the mine swallowing up and eventually disappearing the city of Cajamarca; a situation reminiscent of the Peruvian city of Cerro de Pasco; where underground silver-mining activities have made way for expanding open-pit mining sites, active into the heart of town, with devastating effects on local environment and health (Dajer, 2015; van Geen et al., 2012). For Camila, the opening of the Conga mine would mean slowly killing the population of Cajamarca; she lacks faith in the willingness of the company and government to follow through on their responsibilities to safeguard the environment and the population. For some women, the construction of the worst case scenario goes beyond affecting Cajamarca city and region, to the point of it leading to the end of the world. Emma (63, Celendín) says:

Inge: *"And what do you think that... if the mine does open, what would it mean for future generations?"*

Emma: *"Misfortune. Because, [when] they leave, we'll say, they leave our land behind poisoned, right? And above all... with the mercury, which is fragile, which is metal, that is to say... it means the end of the world to me, simply put. And for many, many sensible people, right? It's simply the end of the world. Yes. A chaos, right? A brutal, terrible chaos, without precedence in history. Of the world [...] So, the whole world has to stand against it, because, in reality, Conga, then, is a crown⁵⁶. Right? From where the water goes to this side, eh... the east, and to the west. And to the east it goes to the Atlantic ocean, and to the west it goes to the Pacific ocean. So, the waters are poisoned, and the poison... gets around, and the whole world is, then... I would say that here we stand at the end of the world."* (#89)

For both Camila and Emma, a future with the Conga mine is one of sickness and death. For Emma, the Conga mine itself comes to signify the end of the world. Given the fact that the waters from the Cajamarcan highlands do feed into rivers that lead into both the Pacific and the Atlantic ocean (Vasquez Peralta, 2012), and that mercury levels in fish worldwide are ascribed to large-scale mining operations worldwide (Moore and Luoma, 1990), the idea that Conga could have far-reaching impacts is not overstated. In light of this, for Emma, the specific symbolism of Conga becomes linked to its importance as a

⁵⁶ A high mountain area.

source of water feeding into the hydrological system of the world as a whole – and in that way, the location becomes the centre of the world for her. It is no wonder then, that such a future must be prevented at all costs and women activists are willing to put a lot on the line to prevent it; if the presence of the Conga mine would mean the literal end of any type of future in Cajamarca, and beyond, its harmful powers are manifested as being almost omnipotent. With this mind-set, a future with the mine is unimaginable; it would mean no future at all.

7.2.2 Best case scenario: exploring the perspective of an inside-outsider

Natalia's (37, Cajamarca) account stands in stark contrast with Emma's doomsday scenario, and many other narratives I have discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Natalia was introduced to me via a friend in Cajamarca city. My friend had been involved in anti-Conga protests, but had no current affiliation with any activist groups. Taking a moderate position, he wanted to help me hear 'a different side' of the story by introducing me to women that had more favourable ideas of the mine⁵⁷. The tension between *Cajamarquinos* opposing the mine and those that support it is double-sided: people perceived as 'outsiders' are often angry and resentful at 'insiders' for halting Conga, as they considered it a way towards jobs and economic development for the region. Therefore, they blame the social movements that halted Conga for the growing levels of unemployment in the city. Natalia works in a business that relies on the above-average incomes of mine-workers, and thereby indirectly on the mine itself; the cancellation of the Conga project was a blow to her industry. Her husband works for Yanacocha, but was demoted to lower paying work after the Conga project fell through.

Natalia understood my project and my background when she agreed to meet with me. At the start of our interview, she explained why she was in favour of mining in Cajamarca, highlighting how she sees mining in general, and the Conga mine in particular, as a road towards economic development for the region. She told me Yanacocha had brought jobs, and Conga would help more *Cajamarquina/os* out of poverty. Her view of what Cajamarca city was like when she grew up stands in contrast with that of some of the women who oppose the mine, as it was discussed in previous chapters; Natalia highlighted there was more poverty and less work 'before' Yanacocha came; remembering having to stand in long queues to obtain basic foodstuff such as flour and sugar. This may be related to the fact that her childhood will have taken place in Peru's tumultuous 1980s and early 1990s (outlined in chapter 2); Natalia is the only interviewee

⁵⁷ He also introduced me to Sofía.

from urban Cajamarca that grew up in this particular time period⁵⁸. This may be a factor in why her memories of the 'before' are different. However, it may also, again, support Cohen (1985)'s notion that the past is constructed in light of dominant narratives on the present; her current vision of the mine as an ultimately positive presence may influence her vision of the past. I have theorised that the women who oppose Conga argue mining is bad, and therefore the past without the mine was better; Natalia may argue that the past was 'worse' to support her notion that the mine is a good thing. However, when I asked Natalia about the mine directly, she started with:

Inge: *"So, what is your opinion about mining?"*

Natalia: *"I think that if it didn't exist, it's, because... Cajamarca has been an agricultural zone. So, the people lived well, right? You could say that."* (#90)

Even though Natalia was prone to see the past as having been 'worse', she shows here that, similar to the other interviewees, she does see value in way of life many people lived before Yanacocha came, especially where it pertains to agriculture. Again, the agricultural identity of Cajamarca comes through, and is constructed as a positive. She continued:

"But when the mining companies began, it was that they had a bit higher status, right? People started to earn more, so, things became better, and people got used to that. And for example, various companies came, such as... el Quinde⁵⁹, because, there was economic activity here in Cajamarca. There was, with the mining companies." (#91)

Here, it becomes obvious that her view of issues such as modernisation differs from that of women who oppose the mine, as explored in previous chapters. Natalia sees the coming of other international companies following the mine's opening, e.g. supermarkets and department stores, as evidence that the Yanacocha mine has brought progress. Like the other women, she sees them as symbols of modernisation, but unlike them, she does not see that as inherently bad. Rather, she links it to development and the good of the people. For her, a future without the Conga mine then becomes problematic, as on top of the loss of jobs that Conga would provide – both directly, such as to her husband, and indirectly, such as to herself – these kinds of investments in the city might disappear again also. Thereby, Cajamarca would lose its momentum to advance towards a wanted form of 'modernity' and a certain standard of living, and might return to a past that, in Natalia's view, was worse than the present, overall. This shows that what she values in

⁵⁸ The other women under 40 I spoke to had grown up in the countryside.

⁵⁹ A shopping mall.

everyday life, and the kind of future that she would prefer for Cajamarca, is very different to the other women I spoke to. In Natalia's view, Conga becomes a vessel towards bringing more of the type of development she favours. However, when I asked her more specifically about Conga, she was the first to bring up the environment:

Inge: *"And do you think that, because Conga isn't here now, many..."*

Natalia: *"Yes, exactly, many are without work. Of course, there is the environmental issue, because... for this reason they have closed Conga. Because of the environmental issue. That was the lakes, the pollution... and all of that. It's very important for health as well, right? But I think that if there are some good geologists, some good, environmentalists, I think that... and with, working with responsibility [...] working according to the law, that is, they will take care of the environment, all of this, right?" (#92)*

Natalia shows faith that the mining companies, and the government, through laws and help of experts, would ensure that no harm would come of the mining project. This suggests that she has more faith in the 'system' – i.e., political regulations and enforcements thereof, lack of corruption, etc. – than those women opposing the Conga mine, and those involved in anti-mining activism. Those who oppose mining generally posit that environmental regulations are not strict enough in their current state, and furthermore, will not be upheld to a sufficient standard; a frequently held critique by local populations, NGOs and scholars alike (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Bebbington et al., 2013; Li, 2009a; Liu et al., 2014; Muradian et al., 2003). Interested to hear about Natalia's views on the environmental impact that Yanacocha had brought, I asked:

Inge: *"And if Yanacocha, for example, has brought pollution –"*

Natalia: *"It **has** brought pollution. Yes, because the environment, even the water, it's not the same anymore, now. It's not the same. Now... the water has to be boiled, or it has to come from a bottle, it has to be purified... and, and when I was a girl, I drank it from the tap, water, like that, directly, and it never harmed me. And now, if you do that, you will get allergies, you will get a lot of things, a lot of things. So, it has changed a lot. Now, of course, with my children, I say 'make sure you don't drink water from the tap!' For example, right? And before you didn't have these concerns here. You didn't have them. It does bring [concerns]." (#93)*

Of course – and somewhat to my surprise – this answer is similar to the accounts of the women who oppose the mine. In contrast to her description of Cajamarca's economic past, when it comes to water quality in the city, Natalia paints the past in a positive light – 'before', water was safe and drinkable; 'now', it is dangerous: a bringer of disease and concern, infiltrating the home with concerns over the health of the family. Not only does

she draw this contrast, she is one of the interviewees that most directly invokes Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) and De la Cadena (2015b)'s notions of 'different water'. This shows that these conceptualisations of water are not reserved to *campesinal/os*, or even to urban women that object to 'modernisation'. However, in spite of seeing her daily life as impacted by pollution she associates with the Yanacocha mine, Natalia takes issue with the cancellation of the Conga mining project. She embraces mining, and is happy with the shopping malls that came after. The divergence in her opinion on Conga seems to partly stem from her faith that environmental impacts will be avoided this time around, as well as from her belief that the mine will bring economic benefits. Like Sofía, who had begun advocating the benefits of mining and began to speak more emotionally about place-attachment and history when drawing her map, when I asked Natalia to draw her map (p.165), she too changed her tone and began to speak in similar ways to the women who opposed the mine:

Natalia: *"For example, there were more rivers, right? More rivers... and there were more green areas, now there aren't many. [...] More cows [...] less houses, because... because... there were more green areas than houses [...] and now everything, everything, everything has changed [...] And the houses are like this, joined together like this. All of them together [...] Now, fewer trees, fewer... fewer green areas. Well, Cajamarca is still redeeming itself, right? Because there are other places, where now... there is nothing, almost nothing like green areas."*

Inge: *"Where, for example?"*

Natalia: *"For example where... where... in Pasco⁶⁰, there, for example. There, that, that is what they say that will also happen in Cajamarca, because they say that... all of this slope, it's gold. So... they are projecting to buy our land, and move us."*

Inge: *"Does that not worry you?"*

Natalia: *"This worries me, yes! But I say, well, if they give me a, a mansion in Lima, Trujillo, I will go. Because, likewise, yes, that what worries [me/us] is the pollution, right? It worries [me/us] a lot, the babies get ill. [...] This is... yes, the pollution is foul."*

Inge: *"And, you, what... do you think is more important, that... there is work here, but there is [also] pollution, or that this of the pollution –"*

Natalia: *"Well, in reality, the miners... they take care of themselves a lot, they drink clean water, right? Including their water, in which they bathe, they say it is not... the same water that they use [for mining related activities], or... that which comes here, to the... they take care of themselves, those that suffer more are those that [live] here, in the city. Those in the city. More. Well, they [the miners] get polluted as well, because they are there, right? But I think that it is more serious for us."*

⁶⁰ Cerro de Pasco.

Inge: *"And do you think it is better that Conga isn't here, or would it be better..."*

Natalia: *"For me, it has its... its... its pros and cons, right? Because, firstly: there will be work. There will be [economic] activity. Another issue is that of pollution. But I think that they managed it. For me... it particularly affects me that there is no, because, there is a lack of work, so, a lack of work. And that affects all of us, right? All of the... companies, it affects everything. Everyone."* (#94)

Again, a lot of what Natalia says recalls the things the women who oppose the mine would tell me. In the first place, Natalia, too, sees the people working for the mine as *'them'* – versus *'us'*, in this case referring to people living in the city. The *'us'*-group is defined by suffering more from the pollution than the miners do, as the latter are in the privileged position of being able to protect themselves against the worst effects of polluted water. This highlights the class difference between the two groups, diverging from how it is portrayed in the accounts of women who oppose the mine outright. While those women would have referred to Natalia and her husband as *'miners'*, due to their work and affiliation, Natalia's definition of a *'miner'* is reserved for those who work in mineral extraction most directly. That means that while her husband works for Yanacocha, he is not a miner; the miners have the means to protect themselves against polluted water, both through safety measures at their work, and through their personal financial capital enabling them to use safer water in their private lives. Natalia's definition of *'miner'* seems to overlap with the other women's definition of *'outsider-miners'*, professionals from the coastal region of Peru, or abroad. Even though Natalia and her family obtain their income from the mine, directly and indirectly, in this instance she considers herself part of an *'us'* that suffers more, having to live with the mine's pollution and health consequences on a day to day basis, highlighting that she, too, feels affected by the relative poverty and powerlessness of *Cajamarquinos* as opposed to the *'miners'*.

Secondly, like many of the other women, Natalia laments the loss of green spaces and cows in the city and the surrounding countryside, indicating again that she does feel an attachment to this particular way of life which many of the women associated with Cajamarca directly, as outlined in chapters 5 and 6. Furthermore, Natalia is similarly worried about pollution; like Camila, she can envisage a future where Cajamarca city could not continue to exist in its current state, but would have to move to allow the mine's operations to continue. She, too, sees this as a future to fear, similarly invoking the image of Cerro de Pasco to communicate her concerns about what mining may mean for the city of Cajamarca. It seems, then, that in some of her values, views of the past, and imagined futures she is not very different from the *Cajamarquinas* opposing Conga.

Yet, while many of her words are similar to those of the activists, this did not ultimately drive Natalia to oppose the mine. The question of economic activity, income and jobs comes first for her, and since both her and her husband's incomes are linked to the continued presence of mining in Cajamarca, this side of her argumentation is perhaps less surprising than the fact that she does share many of the concerns and views that the anti-mining activists have. Another way in which they differ, however, is in considering solutions to the problem of contamination. Natalia's solution is individualistic, solved through the ability of being bought out (i.e. given a nice place to live elsewhere), and concerns her and her immediate family alone, but does not ultimately help other affected people in Cajamarca. Contrast this with Sandra's quote in section 5.2, where she states that even if given a lot of money, she would not want to leave Cajamarca. While Natalia does speak fondly of the city and the region, ultimately leaving it behind would not be an issue for her, suggesting that her place-attachment may be less profound than that of the women who oppose the Conga mine. This shows that personal connection to place and locality may to some extent go hand in hand with opposition to mining; especially when contrasting this with the view of Sofía discussed in chapter 6. As I outlined there, Sofía does support mining in general and is pursuing a career in it, but her strong attachment to the place she grew up led her to actively oppose Conga. Speculating on whether stronger sense of place might lead to stronger opposition, or stronger opposition might lead to stronger sense of place; I would theorise they are mutually reinforcing.

Finally, Natalia had a different view of social movements and the time of heavy anti-Conga conflicts. She considered the activists a problem, a disturbance to her daily life. She said it was a scary time, where she did not leave the house much, painting activists as disturbers of the peace and thereby the main culprits of the social problems at the time. Furthermore, the question of blame for the protests, to her, fell on one specific person that had led a lot of the activists. She stated he led the protests for petty motives of vengeance rather than out of genuine concerns. Thereby, for Natalia, it was his fault that the activism led to violence and deaths. While the women who opposed Conga place the blame on the mine, and on those they define as 'miners' – Natalia shifts the blame of the violence to a person that, in her opinion, started the protests for personal gain and/or for petty reasons. Lust (2014) and Becerril (2018) note how defamation campaigns against the leaders of social movements are part of the government's tactics

to suppress the movements' validity. While her account of what happened exactly in this time was slightly internally inconsistent⁶¹, it was enough for her to believe that the social movements were led by a selfish person, and were therefore mistaken overall. On the one hand, Natalia obviously shares concerns about pollution, the future of the city, and the natural environment, and thinks that this affects 'us' more than 'them'. On the other hand, when it comes to the activists protecting the lakes, she speaks about 'them/out there'; othering the activists and reducing the concerns to '*theirs*' (as opposed to '*ours*')

"So, he, in revenge, started to stir up people... that Conga shouldn't happen, because he knew it was a big project. And... and because he made them jump on it, the spark, it was because, because of the pollution, because it's like three or four lakes, that were going to be reservoirs, and so, there, the people opposed it a lot. Because they say that those lakes also give water to them. To the regions there." (#95)

As mentioned before, Natalia's husband was demoted after the Conga project was indefinitely put on hold. This, of course, had a negative effect on her household's financial situation and resilience. Natalia seems to shift some of the associated anger to the activists, whose protests, after all, led to Conga being put on hold, and thereby to her economic situation worsening. It is through this mechanism that those who suffer from pollution – i.e., *Cajamarquinos* – are 'us' (as opposed to 'miners' who can protect themselves), but those *Cajamarquinos* who protest are 'them' (mainly rural), versus an 'us' (mainly urban) in favour of the opening of the Conga mine. In other words, notions of in/outside are fluid and context-dependent for Natalia as well.

All in all, Natalia's view of the mine holds some central similarities to those of the other women – the mine as a source of disruption of natural landscapes, a bringer of pollution and illness – but diverges in others. She has more faith in 'the system', i.e., she is more sure that the mining company would take care of the environment, as well as that the government, military and police would do the right thing for the population. That is why for her, the ideal imagined future would see the Conga mine open, and bring work, development and modernisation to Cajamarca. While Natalia did state that the agricultural way of life was 'good', and to some extent laments it disappearing from her everyday landscape, she draws on a more traditional urban-rural divide when deciding who is 'modern' and supports (economic) progress, versus who is misled and 'misunderstands' the situation. Yet, while this section has shown how a young urban woman, a proponent of both the mining activities themselves, and of the type of modernity she associates with it, comes from a place of different social values to the

⁶¹ And too long to display here.

women that oppose Conga, she also invokes a lot of the same imagery of pollution and changing natural landscapes, including notions of going from water as healthy and safe to it becoming strange, unnatural and a source of disease. This indicates that these imageries and this way of thinking might be more engrained in the mind-sets of urban, local young professionals, and all that this group of people has come to represent, than writing that solely focuses on the points of view of rural *campesinos* would suggest. The Conga mine does not lose its perceived potential for destruction, disease and disruption overall; the difference between an ideal future scenario, and a worst case scenario, at times, is only a thin line.

7.3 The ‘after’: thinking about development

This section looks beyond the implications of the absence/presence of the Conga mine particularly, to examine how the women mobilise their sense of place and place-attachment while imagining futures of Cajamarca and Peru in relation to mining in general, focusing on what they consider to be good – or at least acceptable – options.

7.3.1 Development with mining: if the mine fits

Somewhat to my surprise, even some of the most radical anti-Conga activists I spoke to would sometimes start arguing for the potential benefits of mining. At this point in the interview, I would realise that while someone may object to Conga and Yanacocha and their practices in particular, they might still see extractivism as a potentially viable and valuable road to development for their region and country. These women disagree with how the Yanacocha mine was carried out, and with what the consequences of the Conga mine would come mean for Cajamarca; instead, they argue for a form of mining that is a better fit for the region. This recalls Pfaffenberger (1988)’s analysis of technology as having to be in line with place-related processes of meaning-giving in order for it to be successful. For the women, this can take various forms. As I mentioned previously, Sofía (27, Cajamarca) opposed Conga, but is a proponent of a future with mining in Cajamarca. She thinks a pathway towards this would include engagement of local communities and their needs, especially their environmental needs, as key characteristics:

“I think that mining could happen, but... it should completely... keep in mind, you could say, to work a bit more in the social field, to work, eh... with the communities, and maybe... find other areas that aren’t located exactly in the watersheds.”(#96)

For Sofía, a form of mining that makes an effort to include the local population, and consider their needs, could fit with the Cajamarcan way of life in general. Sandra (58, Cajamarca) also thinks that more engagement with communities, and an investment in the social good of the region overall should be a main component of mining investments going forward. For her, the amount of money leaving the region is one of the main problems with the mining companies' policies. There could be benefits, she says:

"If the money stays here in Cajamarca. [...] because, if the money stays in Cajamarca, there would be jobs here [...] I would be the first to say, 'come to Cajamarca to create jobs', because Cajamarca gives a lot to the world! From here, a lot of things are sent to other countries. [...] And? What comes back to Cajamarca? Nothing, we don't have any compensation, nothing, what we need here is a, many, many communal works. For the good of everyone. But it's not there. A long time ago, the state committed itself to creating schools, to creating medical posts, to create... yet, here we [continue to live] as if we were in another country! That's how I feel." (#97)

Over the course of our interview, Sandra emphasised several times that the mine could help Cajamarca by investing in schooling and health care. The company's and government's lack of sharing of the wealth with the local population, rather than the government pursuing the model of extractivism as a road towards development, then, is a core issue for her. This recalls a desire for 'neo-extractivist' practices such as those implemented in more left-leaning Latin American countries of Bolivia and Ecuador, where mining industries are largely nationalised in an attempt to reap more of the financial benefits for the nation and its development (Lalander, 2014; Svampa, 2013). Sandra's values of sharing the wealth and creating social services for all, are of course traditionally associated with left wing politics (which not all activists politically identify with outright); however, they also reflect Andean values (as outlined in previous chapters) that long existed outside of the realm of western 'left-right' political imaginations. The sharing and redistribution that Sandra feels are lacking above all, are not exclusive to the mining companies:

"for example the milk, ... that leaves in big tanks to... to Chiclayo, to turn it into... into dairy products [...] So, this is what we lack in Cajamarca, but I don't know why the authorities, the government, especially the central government, neglects a lot of our people, because here in the city we should have a milk processing plant. Stop taking it to Chiclayo, but [keep it] here, process the milk and, maybe create jobs, create better dairy products, with the people of Cajamarca themselves. But from Cajamarca, they extract the raw material, for example, the milk, to process it into Gloria⁶² milk, they extract coffee, [...] and they bring us our own coffee, mixed with other things, so... Cajamarca produces a lot of... raw material." (#98)

⁶² Gloria is a dairy company, that most dairy producers in Cajamarca rely on to sell their milk to.

Pilar's (34, Celendín) similarly highlights that it is not just the mining company that has a lot of influence in the region:

"For milk, there is just one buyer and many suppliers, so Gloria decides the price, right? [...] and with their price... they exploit our people. There's a lot that could happen, but nothing is done." (#99)

The way these women speak about the region of Cajamarca here recalls how academics studying extractivism often discuss Peru or the global South in general; a place where resources are extracted, subsequently processed elsewhere, and, occasionally, sold back to the original place of production at a higher price (e.g. Bakker (2007); Escobar (2006); Parpart (1993)). Sandra sees this problem taking place within the country itself, highlighting how the government has divided the country into different areas where different economic activities take place; sacrificing local development for national development (or development in other regions). This, then, has reduced Cajamarca to first and foremost a place where prime resources are extracted – mostly through mining, but also more generally, e.g. in terms of coffee, milk and cocoa. By doing so, she again highlights the marginalisation and relative poverty of Cajamarca, where, she claims, the government is not interested in setting up a workforce. Sandra is very aware of the relative poverty of Cajamarca region within Peru as a whole. The resulting feeling of being on the periphery, of being overlooked and ignored was very central to her concerns. This seems to her a form of injustice, especially because she says Cajamarca 'gives a lot' to the world. This shows another way in which the presence of mining, and its representation of a certain type of neoliberal modernity, increases the degree to which the women feel powerless within the existing global structure; highlighted in Sandra's feeling that her region is being taken advantage of. For Sandra, Cajamarca not only gives more than it receives, it also gets less than it is owed. For her, this results in Cajamarca being left vulnerable to outside views of development and futures being imposed. Meanwhile, the local population is not being offered chances for achieving that same development, or reaping the same benefits. An imagined future with mining, then, would have to fix these wrong-doings in order to become desirable.

Other women spoke more specifically of what this type of mining should look like. Stefanie (56, Celendín) explained:

"I am not anti-mining. I think that there should be mining, like... where it fits, and in the way that, that the people... that the companies pay them. A lot. That they

use the latest tools, I don't know, and that they don't pollute – and most of all, that they don't pollute the water. So, I believe... extract a little, even though it is difficult, to be a more responsible mine, extract a little, and give nature time to renew itself, or... or... to change, I don't know. But it shouldn't be extract, extract, extract, extract. They go and they leave everything, look, they don't leave anything for us! Imagine that, how could they? This makes me very angry – very angry.” (#100)

Stefanie argues that the way of mining as it is currently being undertaken does not ‘fit’ in the region. It is not mining per se that she opposes – rather, it is a continuation of a particular form of mining, based on what she has seen of the impacts of the Yanacocha mine. She imagines that if the company took enough care, and put enough money into the communities, the mine would be worth it. Luisa (45, Cajamarca) also discusses that there are other, more acceptable, forms of mining. She argues that the company and the government know about them, but will not implement them for financial reasons; as they are putting their economic interests over health and safety (and other) concerns:

“All they want is to gain! Everyone loves their purse, because if... they did it more sophisticatedly, and used another product that wasn't cyanide, well...” (#101)

She, also, does not oppose mining per se, and thinks it could have benefits for the region. One of the problems she sees in the drive for purely economic gains is corruption of politicians. She said:

“They should be a bit more conscious and consistent, and think about the health of the people. But in Lima, well, those people! [...] They have to be responsible, responsible mining, that treats these, all the chemical components, with sophistication, and think about the population. Not think about their gains.” (#102)

All the women quoted in this section have taken part in anti-Conga activism, and while they are very critical of mining activity⁶³, they do see extractivism as a potential path towards development for the country; if it is a type of mining that fits, rather than disrupts. For these women, who do not oppose extractivism overall, the search then becomes for a type of mining that uses its power to give back to communities, protect nature, and that takes people's needs into consideration; in sum, a type of mining that ‘fits’, or *could belong*, in Cajamarca. There is, then, some form of potential mining activity to be imagined that, in the views of these women, *could* fit into the Cajamarcan landscape and way of life; one that is less disruptive, and offers more positive contributions to the local population. However, there is also apparent doubt in their accounts. Luz (66, Bambamarca) states there is room for mining activity in Cajamarca, but it should not be

⁶³ Apart from this, they are of different ages, coming from different communities and backgrounds.

open-pit mining; she had rather they worked “*como debe ser*” – as it should be, including offering more job opportunities to local people, working underground only, and being mindful of environmental impacts. However, she remains simultaneously concerned about the health of the people who would work in such mines, as underground mineworkers she knows have become ‘polluted’. This, then, may indicate that there is no form of mining that is a perfect ‘fit’ for Cajamarca in her view after all, rather there is a balance or trade-off to be struck between pollution and economic income.

Though none of the women addressed this outright, it seems that, especially in the case of open-pit mining, these envisaged aims of what responsible mining should entail do not seem feasible; its scale and intensity is simply too large to overcome the problems of environmental degradation. Furthermore, research shows that mining-related benefit sharing programmes in the global North often leave a lot to be desired; indicating such programmes may not provide an answer for the South, either (Lust, 2014; Söderholm and Svahn, 2015; Sosa and Keenan, 2001; Svampa, 2013). There is, therefore, already a more radical edge to this ‘*extractivism that fits*’ paradigm than may appear on first glance: although the women are open to mining if it were to happen under certain regulations, these may not be achievable. In other words, this imagined future is not likely a feasible one under neoliberalism, which means even for this least-radical of alternative futures, a system-change would be in order. After all, even countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia, which, as mentioned before, claim to pursue alternative modes of development with neo-extractivism as a pathway towards increased income for all, have increasingly been criticised for continuing to pursue economic progress at the cost of nature, without producing the envisaged benefits (Acosta, 2013; Esteva et al., 2013; Gudynas, 2013a; Svampa, 2013; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014; Villalba-Eguiluz and Etxano, 2017). It is therefore currently difficult to imagine a future for right-leaning Peru that accommodates demands associated with the left in general, and with system reform specifically.

7.3.2 Development alternatives to mining

Several women were another step removed from the paradigm of ‘extractivism equals development’. This section looks at these women’s construction of preferred and potential futures that generally fit within striving for modernisation and development within the dominant paradigm, but in the absence of mining. These are women that do not think mining is a valid development option for Cajamarca, and object to the

construction of the region and the country as a place where mining is a good fit – or could potentially be a good fit if certain improvements were made. As Marilou (41, Celendín) said:

“... recently I heard on the news that the ministry of energy and mining said, ‘Peru is a mining country, and will be a mining country’, like that. [...] I say ‘no’.... there are other options.” (#103)

Similarly, Ana (42, Cajamarca) objects to the idea that the mine is necessary for people to live a good life, be well off and provide a better future for their children, often put forward by the government, mining companies, and *Cajamarquinos* in favour of the mine (e.g. Natalia). Looking back on her childhood and the educational opportunities that were available to her and her siblings, Ana explains:

“... and look, we did not rely on the mine, on the large salaries that some Cajamarquinos might have obtained by now, but this⁶⁴ allowed my family to become professionals, so that means, that yes, it is possible.” (#104)

The idea of the mine as central to either ‘national/regional’ or ‘personal/individual’ development is rejected by Marilou and Ana, and the search for economic alternatives is central in their on-going objection to the mine; this often goes for the activist groups that are still meeting as well. For example, during my last months in Cajamarca, a group of women from the city, in cooperation with a Spanish NGO, set up a plan to generate incomes based on tasks that are traditionally associated with women in Cajamarca, such as selling handicraft and products made with local medicinal plants. For some of the women, this project represented a step towards a future where non-mining economic activities might render mining obsolete.

Ana highlights that what she wants is for mining companies to leave Cajamarca, and for the region to become reliant on other sources of income:

“I no longer believe that the mine brings development to Cajamarca [...] I want them to give us the opportunity to prove that Cajamarca can live, and live well, without mining.” (#105)

When I asked how she envisaged this kind of future, she told me the big alternatives in Cajamarca are tourism and the dairy industry:

“...new economic possibilities could be started, such as for example the industrialisation of agriculture, you can’t do agriculture anymore as it was done 30 years ago, it has to be intensified. That very animal husbandry, the

⁶⁴ Her father working odd jobs throughout her youth.

industrialisation of agricultural products, Cajamarca can be an industrialised city, but not industrialised by the mine, but industrialised by what we have here, the dairy products... The Cajamarcan cheeses are sent out by the truckload! What we have here could be industrialised.” (#106)

When discussing development and potential alternatives to mining activity in this way, Ana seems to be thinking about integrating Cajamarca into a national/global market system along lines associated with theories of modernisation and neoliberalism (e.g. Bury (2005); Gudynas (2013a)) in a way that does not involve mining; as she points out that industrialisation as a whole cannot be ignored anymore. She suggests it instead be used to produce and generate income from traditional products that have always been cultivated in the area, that local people have been working with for centuries. In this way, place-attachment gets mobilised while imagining potential futures; the main way in which she imagines a development trajectory for the future of Cajamarca would involve economic activities that are (re-)embedded within culture, social norms and territory. This recalls what is set out, for example, by Bowen (2010), who discusses strategies for local communities to (re-)embed production within their own sociocultural and ecological settings, while remaining in contact with national and international markets through branding and associations of quality, e.g. in terms of cheese. Bowen (2010) argues this strategy can bring about increased local control over the production, as well as over related environmental protection. This scenario would require a radical reversal of what is happening in Cajamarca now, as Luisa (45, Cajamarca) explains. Like Ana, Luisa also considers industrialisation and intensification of local production as central to improving Cajamarca's economic situation and bringing development alternatives to mining activities. She suggests a factory for dairy products, shoes or textile products should be built:

“... out of these three, one of them should be here, even if it were only one. But we don't have anything! Nothing.” (#107)

Luisa says the mine is restricting local people's possibilities to find a market for their agricultural produce 'now', because for people from other regions of the country and other parts of the world to want to buy it, it should be healthy:

“Who, abroad, wants a product that might contain the mine's contaminants? Nobody. And when, by misfortune, someone finds that the cheeses that come from Cajamarca have some... residual contaminants, oh, that poor dairy farmer!” (#108)

Not only, then, does the mine defer investment in other forms of economic development, it actively works against them, by jeopardising the quality and reputation of the produce. This means that while currently, for example, the cheese of Cajamarca has a good name and is famous in other parts of Peru, the mine puts this 'brand' at risk. If the cheese becomes polluted in any way due to the mine's activities, the good name of Cajamarcan dairy farming will be lost, and the associated alternative economy becomes less viable. To Luisa, then, the Yanacocha mine, and any potential mining projects in the future, are not only favoured in national development strategies to the detriment of local products that 'belong' within the local environment and communities in the present time; they are actively putting the *future potential* of these income-generating strategies at risk. Ana argues similarly in relation to tourism: as the mine expands, natural beauty gets lost, and when pollution increases, people will not be interested in visiting Cajamarca. Currently, Cajamarca city is a popular destination for Peruvian tourists, mainly from the northern coastal region and the city of Lima (Tejada et al., 2014). For Sandra (58, Cajamarca), a drop in tourism already influenced her daily life during the time of heavy protest against Conga; a difficult financial time for her, her family, and her colleagues, from which she explains they are still recovering.

Similar to the women's arguments in section 7.3.1, the talk of intensifying forms of economic development that belong in the region partly seems to stem from a desire to give the region more power over its future. This shows the everyday impacts of the central construction of the 'developed' coastal areas versus the more 'backward' mountain region, (e.g. De la Cadena (1998); Escárzaga (2001); Wade (2001)). Being dependent on production chains, and the more 'developed' coast, the *Cajamarquinas* felt they have no true say into what happens to their region's resources or wealth; they are part of a system that continuously reinforces the marginalisation of their 'place' by not allowing it to develop according to its own needs and standards, in other words, in a way 'fitting' with the local. The idea of potentially having more autonomy and control over the region's outputs brought a sense of pride to many of the interviewees. As Stefanie (56, Celendín) said:

"I don't really like that we depend on the outside. There are, yes, there are resources here. There's human resources, there's... all kinds of resources."
(#109)

For these women, addressing the identity of the local is an important step to ensuring that the future fits in with the past and the present, in a way that the mine cannot.

Economic alternatives to mining, then, are a way to overcome the local 'misfit' of the mine, while still achieving economic development. What the women would mainly be looking for in a post-mining Cajamarca is increased control over the processing phase of products, as well as increased economic independence and freedom from exploitation and economic dependency on companies from elsewhere. Beyond simply perceiving a need for more jobs, these women want to no longer feel as though they live on the country's periphery; to transform the region from one from which resources simply get extracted, to a place where the right kind of, *fitting*, production takes place, and money is put towards improving quality of life and services in the region.

7.4 Alternatives to development

Esteva et al. (2013) and Himley (2014) argue that, when linked to a vocabulary of capitalist/neoliberal development, the number of futures that are considered realistic for a country or region drastically declines. This is perhaps why, while the need for alternatives to extractivism and development are often brought up by various actors, concrete suggestions for such alternatives remain limited (Gudynas, 2013b). One of the key problems, Gudynas (2013b) argues, is that the development narrative as a whole is not equipped to tackle the issue; therefore, to adequately deal with the problems of extractivism, the notion of development itself must be challenged. This section analyses critically how, through their participation in anti-mining activism in particular, some women come to do precisely that; looking for an 'after' that links in (more) strongly with traditional values and regional identity, rather than with Western modernity. I explore how some of the women problematise the notion of development, and the way that it is triggered by their views and responses to the negative consequences they have seen and lived through as a result of the Yanacocha mine. While there is overlap with the previous section, there is a slightly more radical edge to this, as women instead question whether the notion of development itself is a good fit for them and their lives.

7.4.1 Challenging the notion of development

As outlined in chapters 1 and 2, the Peruvian government sees mining and extractivism as a clear road to development of the country as a whole (Bury, 2005; Lust, 2014). The fact that types of development that do not include the Conga mine, or large-scale mining in general, are now considered 'alternative(s)' reflects how swiftly this type of extractivism has become central to people's perceptions of what mainstream development means for Cajamarca, and for the region's contribution to Peru's economic growth. However, some

of the women raise concerns about what this type of 'national' development will imply for their lives 'locally', and how something that is argued to lead to development for the country as a whole will leave their specific region, and their families, worse off. Laura (50, Cajamarca), for example, discusses what she perceives as a growth in mental health struggles resulting from Yanacocha's impacts, in relation to the wider notion of development:

"... now, [due to] the desperation caused by so many problems, people even commit suicide. There's young people, men, women,... now, even kids commit suicide. And I say: this is normal? It may not be normal, never. This is development? This is the forward they're bringing us? [...] Instead of improving, everything has gotten worse." (#110)

Laura, then, sees 'development' as a concept that was meant to carry a positive connotation, but instead has made lives worse. When presented with adverse impacts of something she was told should be positive, she challenges and questions the dominant idea of extractivism as a valid trajectory towards 'development'. In this way, she questions what 'development' actually means to her, and what she thinks it should be. These questions about 'development' were central points of debate at a workshop I attended in Cajamarca in November 2016⁶⁵. The aim of the workshop was exploring alternatives to development overall, and alternatives to mining in particular, through a focus on local values and views on living a good life. Leaders of various social movements in the northern Peruvian mountain and coastal regions were invited; though *Cajamarquinales* from Cajamarca and Celendín were in the majority, including various women that have been quoted throughout this work. In a group discussion, the meaning of the word development was analysed. People agreed it had to do with 'education and knowledge, quality of life and happiness', and that it was a communal feeling (as one of the men present explained: *"it means nothing without family"*). After the discussion, the leader of the workshop pointed out that generally, i.e. when used by governments and companies in a neoliberal context, the word 'development' is strongly associated with economics (e.g. discussed by Hart (2001); Gudynas (2013a)). While most people in this workshop, as well as various other meetings I attended, would not say they were anti-development per se, their understanding of the concept of 'development' remains vastly different from the Peruvian government's neoliberal interpretation of it. This recalls De la Cadena (2015a)'s description of communities and social movements using the same concepts as the state and the neoliberal framework, while assigning different meaning to them, leading to fundamental miscommunications in political discourse. The workshop

⁶⁵ Hosted by an NGO from Lima in collaboration with a Uruguayan university.

leader argued that since politically, the overarching meaning of *development* is economic, while the group's definition of *development* included a different set of values, a new word or phrase might be needed to capture what the group was striving for. In a similar vein, Stefanie (56, Celendín) said:

"[the government said] that we don't want progress... that we don't want development. I want development, but I don't want [it]... like we have it now – at what cost? What development do we have? We're never going to become a developed country, the way we are going, we won't be, because of education! How is that going? Health? Work, let's see, what benefits do the workers have? Their rights get slashed more and more all the time. And as long as human beings are not respected, there won't be development, there won't be." (#111)

To Stefanie, too, development clearly means something more than simply the pursuit of economic growth. She says she is critical of neoliberalism, highlighting that she considers health, education, and respect for workers' rights most important to development instead. As it turns out, then, many of the women do in fact actively reject the idea of development as put forward by the state. However, as with meanings assigned to 'development', meanings assigned to 'against development' are not the same for the government on the one hand, and activists on the other. While to the government being against their version of neoliberal development equates to being a left-wing terrorist (Himley, 2014; Jenkins, 2017), to women such as Stefanie, and the people present in the workshop described above, being against the state's version of development means striving for a better life in a different way. Challenging the imposition of this type of neoliberal development, then, can lead the women to reconsider what economic development would mean for Cajamarca, and who is really striving for it. Valeria (50, Cajamarca) explains:

"...when we were in the protests, we met the queen of Cerro de Pasco⁶⁶, do you know her? A beautiful woman. But what did she say, she impressed us with the video she brought, she said: 'look, this is Cerro de Pasco, this is the development that they want for Cajamarca, this, this is...' she told me: 'the animals are dying, the mountains aren't producing anything, no plants, no animals, nothing, everything is empty.' So, we said that we don't want to end up like this town, right? [They are] abandoned." (#112)

Again, the case of Cerro de Pasco is brought up as an extreme, unwanted imagined future for Cajamarca, this time not just in relation to what a future with Conga, or mining in general, would look like, but related to the notion of 'development' itself. Laura (at the start of this section) and Valeria both speak about development as something that comes from the outside, brought by 'they/them'. In this way, the women that challenge

⁶⁶ 'La Reina de Cerro de Pasco', a woman anti-mining activist from Cerro de Pasco.

development as a whole go beyond simply challenging the marginalisation of the region of Cajamarca within Peru, to challenging the marginalisation of ‘places where extractivism happens’ versus and by ‘places that make extractivism happen [elsewhere]’. In other words, they problematise the global power inequalities that they see as inherent to the overarching global capitalist system, and the outside forces of so-called development. Through the mine, which, as I have explored before, is conceptualised as a misfit bringing outsider values to Cajamarca, development becomes a concept that is ‘not from’ Cajamarca. As a result, the concept of development itself starts to be scrutinised as a potential misfit for the region. The coming of the mine thus becomes a starting point for questioning whether the most prevalent notions of development are suitable for Cajamarca, or whether they might reflect a continuation of past forms of inequality through neo-colonialism (e.g. Acosta (2013); Gudynas (2013a); Vega (2013)). In fact, their arguments ring closely to Parpart (1993)’s and Escobar’s (e.g. (1992b, 1995, 2004, 2010)) critique of ‘development’ as an imposition by the global North on the global South. These scholars argue that ‘development’ is intrinsically linked to colonialism, the imposition of western ideas of modernity and a continuation of current global power systems. Camila (35, Cajamarca) explains:

*“I think that now, they say that slavery has ended; before, the Incas were slaves of the Spanish, [they say] that this has changed now. But how I see it, this has **not** changed. Because by all appearances, we are free. But... the economic powers, what do they make you do? They make you live as a slave.” (#113)*

This renewed form of slavery, as Camila sees it, comes with the imposition and drive to be an economic being, fitting in with a particular form of neoliberal development. As I explored in chapter 5, in Camila’s view, most of the social changes along this line are imposed by the mine in particular, making it is a main culprit driving this particular economic mind-set and the renewed enslavement of *Cajamarquinos*. Again, the mine becomes a central player not only in negative changes, but in making visible the workings of an unwanted system. As Marilou (41, Celendín) said:

“We know what capitalism is like, we’ve seen capitalism. And in other places, it works the same way, but maybe the people don’t see that. But here, we’ve seen how the state that takes our taxes, that should protect us – how they kill us. How they... marginalise and belittle us. And you feel like you’re nothing.” (#114)

Camila and Marilou challenge the necessity inherent in the current world order to keep some places as ‘suppliers’ in order for other places to grow, or maintain a certain way of life. As a result, they and other women call for another, more equitable system, where

such exploitation would no longer exist. However, as I outline in the next section, saying 'no' to a system is one thing, but coming up with an alternative is quite another.

7.4.2 (Trying to) think outside the box

Thinking radically outside of the 'capitalist box' remains a key struggle for those continuing to work on resisting mining expansion in Cajamarca. This issue was occasionally addressed during meetings and in interviews. A lot of women seem worried to be asked: *'If you do not want the mine, what do you propose instead?'* With the time of heavy activism over, the grassroots women and activist groups have more time to reflect on the kind of future they would like to see for Cajamarca. Partly, this drive comes from what they consider a shortcoming during that time: their inability to give a satisfying answer to this difficult question, often pushed by those in favour of the mine, such as the police and military and the media, no doubt understanding the challenge of giving a satisfactory answer. Academics such as Bebbington et al. (2008) and Lust (2014) have also highlighted this as one of the particular challenges the social movements of Cajamarca face. However, in the aftermath of the conflict, the women continue to engage with this question. While most of them have a vision on this subject, at meetings and training sessions I attended people often voiced a feeling of powerlessness in not having succeeded to gather their thoughts on a concrete alternative model so far. As Eva (54, Cajamarca) said at a meeting of the Cajamarcan women's group:

"We fight for a dignified life, unharmed by economic powers. What will we suggest as an alternative? We have to be capable to do and say 'what comes after this?'" (#115)

Elizabeth (42, Celendín) describes why this is so difficult, and the need for outside help:

"The mines came twenty years ago and that gave impetus to the idea that we could get out of poverty and develop the region of Cajamarca. That we had to take all the metals, never mind the water. Now the people have stood up, the campesinos say 'no, we don't want this model, the mine brings wealth to a few, poverty to many, eh... because of water, pollution and destruction.' We want another model of development. We have to make it so that this could be developed. But they say, 'then why don't you do 'development', can you not make it happen?' – it won't happen from one day to the next. We need deeper changes [...] like a new constitution, and a government that supports something like that." (#116)

There is, then, in fact a struggle happening in the anti-Conga movements to elevate their debates to a higher level; debates that are far more difficult to have, implying saying 'no'

not simply to one project, but to a system overall – and, thereby, having to propose an alternative to it. The women communicate the need for more organisation, discussion, and getting more people together in order to work on these themes. Some women also speak about a sense of personal responsibility when it comes to resisting the kind of development associated with the mine; take for example Clara (48, Cajamarca) and Emma (63, Celendín):

“Most of us are already convinced that capitalism will leave us with pollution, and without resources. Politically, we already see and show that there are candidates for water and life and candidates for gold. We have to attack this whole system, but for that, we will have to change some of our customs and we don’t want to give up our comforts.” (Clara) (#117)

“The idea of development means nothing here anymore. In Peru, it’s very late. Sources of water are being destroyed – then with which water will they develop projects? What’s the alternative? We’ve already let them destroy all of this.” (Emma) (#118)

In terms of nature, Emma states ‘we have let them destroy’; in relation to culture, Clara says ‘we don’t want to give up our comforts’. As Lander (2013) argues, the globalisation of individualism and consumerism is one of the main obstacles to thinking about alternatives to development. The idea that more consumption equals a better life, explored in chapter 5, is one of these ideas (Svampa, 2013). Emma and Clara’s words reflect the understanding that the local population do have some power and ability to oppose development of the type the mine brings, but it should be done by overcoming what they see as the negative forces of materialism and individualisation in the local population itself first.

Camila (35, Cajamarca) and Ana (42, Cajamarca) challenge another classical notion of capitalism; the idea that ‘the pie’ needs to be ever expanding (e.g. Alesina and Rodrik (1994)):

“I think that the mine doesn’t even bring development. I think there are other types of development. Why not invest in working in agriculture, in making [irrigation] channels for the vegetables. Why? Agriculture, well, it won’t be a revenue like that of the mine, it will be less, but [...] And look, I would prefer that, that my village remains in poverty, I mean, I speak of poverty that way, because... everyone says ‘those from the countryside are poor’ – they’re not the poor ones! Because there isn’t a day that we don’t have food. That which we sow, we eat, so we’re not poor... we won’t have money, but we have [enough] to eat. So,... it’s that, here [in Cajamarca city] you get used to... here you know, that money is the most important, because if [you don’t have it], you can’t eat. That’s true, [if] you are in the city.” (Camila) (#119)

"Maybe now they say 'oh, how it's deteriorated, we're in recession, there's no work.' Are the Cajamarquinos dying of hunger? There won't be, that they'll continue building their buildings and [going on] their large shopping sprees, but there is enough to live. It is my opinion that the human being doesn't need to be accumulating, accumulating. He needs [enough] to live." (Ana) (#120)

As Gudynas (2013a) sets out, post-development thinking challenges some of the notions of development often upheld as 'common sense' and universal truths, such as the definitions of poverty, or the need for economic growth. Camila and Ana, instead, ask us to reconsider what it means to be poor, challenging the prevalent notion of a poor person being someone who has little money or material possessions, that should be aiming to obtain more. As Clara (48, Cajamarca) summed up:

"...we're poor not for what we have, but for our way of thinking" (#121)

Camila, Ana and Clara argue that rather than always aiming for obtaining more, what a person truly needs is enough to live [well]. Again, these thoughts reflect some post-development scholars' thinking (e.g. Gudynas (2013b); Svampa (2013); Villalba (2013)) demanding that growth, where necessary, should be a means to an end, rather than an end in itself, setting up narratives of alternative economies and de-growth. Svampa (2013) and Gudynas (2013b), for example, show that profound changes to everyday life, limiting individualist consumerist desires to the benefit of communities and the environment, may be necessary, and can be promoted through local agriculture based economies, challenging existing capitalist market logic, if based on values of solidarity and community. The women cited above seem to share these notions. When I asked about what this kind of future would mean to them, they explained it means buying local produce on the market, sold by *campesinos*, rather than buying goods and produce from big international companies, such as supermarkets and shopping malls. In other words, they describe a turn away from globalisation and its homogenising tendencies. A refocus on the local, again, especially in relation to learning to re-value the way of life lived in the countryside, and consumption of local produce with a place-related historical significance, while de-valuing the allure assigned to modernity, become central to imaginations of different futures.

In spite of individual responsibilities and potential, however, it is likely that some of the sense of powerlessness in bringing about a proposal for alternatives stems from the overwhelming imbalances between the activists on the one hand, and large scale,

international corporations and the government on the other. Against these, of course, obtaining results will always be an uphill battle, and perhaps protesting, while obviously not easy (and in fact potentially dangerous), is the ‘easiest’ thing to do – saying ‘No, we are against’ but not yet saying ‘Instead, we are for...’ or ‘Instead, we are doing...’. The onus of coming up with an alternative is on the activists, and this is a difficult burden to carry. As Svampa (2013) explains, the traditional development paradigm has proven to be highly resilient to criticism. When speaking of development and development alternatives directly in the interviews, most of the women continued describing potential futures in economic terms, reminiscent of the narratives set out in section 7.3.2. One of the problems, of course, is the extent to which capitalist logic has become ingrained in everyday life. This may go some way towards explaining the difficulties of thinking ‘outside the box’: some women at one point formulated ideas aligning more closely to the classic capitalist framework, while at others discussing that system itself more critically. The line between challenging extractivism as a development strategy, and challenging the notion of development and the ‘system’ altogether is, of course, not always clear-cut and straightforward. For example, the project mentioned in section 7.3.2, that the women in Cajamarca city set up in cooperation with a Spanish NGO to sell their products, was partly set up to support the women in getting training, producing more, and generating an income. The women simultaneously saw this project as a technique for opposing the mine, as they felt it was a way for them show that they were taking initiative to develop locally and culturally appropriate alternatives, and that women could find ways to live well without needing the mine in the area. Therefore, to these women, the economic aspect was not the main, or only factor shaping their desire to take part in the project. While participating in it was a step away from doing outright anti-mining activism, when the women discussed the project they often linked it explicitly to showing that alternatives to mining are possible. Thereby, it also became a communal form of everyday resistance (Jenkins, 2017). That means that in practice, increasing economic efficiency and opportunity, and communicating hope for alternative economies and modes of being can, and do, go hand in hand.

7.4.3 Ancestry and history

As seen in section 7.4.1, some of the women identify national politics as playing a key role in taking potential steps towards alternatives to development, which remains unlikely in the current Peruvian political climate. Therefore, a new constitution for Peru, as mentioned by Elizabeth, is one of the options proposed by anti-mining activists to

establish a plurinational state that would be more inclusive of alternative modes of, and to, development. This proposal is inspired by the constitutional reforms of Bolivia and Ecuador in the late 2000s, where, as mentioned previously, different values are recognised. In these countries, this includes the consideration of alternative notions to ‘development’, such as *Buen Vivir* (e.g. Walsh (2010); Gudynas (2011)). As outlined in chapter 3, *Buen Vivir* is currently the most widespread and well known Latin American alternative to development, generally referring to a collection of different sets of beliefs of different indigenous groups, finding common ground in a focus on well-being, community, and abandoning the human/nature divide prominent in western modernity (Gudynas, 2013b; Prada, 2013; Villalba, 2013; Walsh, 2010). As Gudynas (2013a) argues, a big advantage of ‘*Buen Vivir*’ is that it does away with the use of the word ‘development’ itself. On the topic of *Buen Vivir*, Pilar (36, Celendín) remarked:

“The world has changed, there are new models for ‘being’, but we don’t speak about Buen Vivir yet in Cajamarca. We will have to talk about what it means to us, for example respect for nature, and solidarity. We do have an alternative plan for development, but it is not new, it is about what is left behind. We should make plans, not just say ‘Conga no va’⁶⁷. Not doing that⁶⁸ is also helping the mine.” (#122)

As Gudynas (2013a) states, “*alternatives to development must also be alternatives to western Modernity*” (p.32). As I am arguing, for the women, this means imagining futures lived in accordance with what they consider traditional values and ways of being. When describing the right path for the future, Pilar links back to a ‘before’, saying the alternative to development will not be new, but “*about what is left behind*”. She seems to be linking in to the narratives I have explored in chapter 5 and 6, about a past where things were ‘better’ – there was more respect for nature, and reciprocity. The ‘after’, then, in her view will have to rely on a ‘before’ to come to fruition, and by-pass ideas and values dominant in the ‘now’ that she sees as damaging – i.e. neoliberalist capitalism and extractivism. This line of thinking has led her, and various other women and organisations, to an interest in local ancestry and history as a source to look not just for identity, but for imagined futures. Some of these women, then, including Pilar, expressed that they would prefer if their children could go on to live the types of lives that they themselves, or their ancestors had lived, especially where this related to life in the countryside, holding a central place in imaginations of ‘Cajamarcanness’ (as seen in chapters 5 and 6).

⁶⁷ “Conga is not possible”, one of the main anti-Conga slogans.

⁶⁸ I.e., not making an alternative plan.

As I outlined in chapter 3, it is common in Andean cultures to mobilize the past as a resource for imagining futures; especially by invoking notions of the time of the Inca (Galindo, 2010; Harvey, 2012; Himley, 2014; Larrain, 2000; Rowe and Schelling, 1991; Sarkisyanz, 1993) which I will come back to later on. As I have mentioned before, Svampa (2013) shows how post-development thinking from the Latin American grassroots can be tied into imagining futures through a mixture of new, locally appropriate concepts, and recovered traditional Latin American concepts, including a range of indigenous and *mestizo* critical thinking. She cites *Buen Vivir*, Eco-feminism and the socio-environmental movements that have sprung up around the continent, as in Cajamarca, as examples. These movements, she argues, while not necessarily considering themselves indigenous, have notions of “*goods, territory, food sovereignty and living well*.” (p. 135) – and therefore share an overlap with *Buen Vivir* at the grassroots. Perhaps, then, broad lines of *Buen Vivir* are not out of place with the worldviews of Cajamarcan social movements, placing the region’s activism solidly into wider contemporary Andean narratives. On the other hand, the search for a locally appropriate language need not necessarily have terminology from elsewhere assigned to it. This is especially pertinent given the fact that *Buen Vivir* is tied in with the notion of ‘indigeneity’, which the people of highland Cajamarca⁶⁹ have a complicated relationship with (Coxshall, 2010; Piccoli, 2009). While Quechua people are considered ‘*pueblos indigenos u originarios*’⁷⁰ by the Peruvian state, in 2017, the vast majority (over 76%) of Cajamarca region’s population of slightly over a million identified as *mestizo*, while 6,2% identified as Quechua descent (INEI, 2017). The *Rondas Campesinas* are one of the forces looking to reclaim or alter the perception of indigeneity in Cajamarca, but they, too, continue to face internal struggle and debate about what this means to them, evidenced by the fact that there are an estimated 280.000 *ronderos* across Cajamarca region (i.e. some 27% of its population) which means far more people associate with the *Rondas* than self-identify as Quechua in Cajamarca (Hallizi, 2016). This is likely related to the link that exists between speaking Quechua as a native language and being indigenous. Andolina et al. (2005) note that the link between the speaking of pre-Colombian languages and indigeneity has a long history, that became untangled with the growth and (re)configurations of indigenous movements in nations such as Bolivia, where now “*local territoriality, custom and history on a par with pre-colonial language as an indigenous political identity marker*” (p.681). However, based on my fieldwork, I found the link between ‘indigenous’ and ‘Quechua-speaker’ to be central in Cajamarcan

⁶⁹ A small area in the north-eastern region of Cajamarca is in the Amazonian lowlands and home to Amazonian indigenous peoples, mainly of the Awajún group (INEI, 2017).

⁷⁰ Indigenous or original peoples

constructions of indigenusness, fitting in with the fact that wider discussions on these topics are relatively new to the region. The *Rondas* are now actively campaigning for better Quechua education in schools. As Luz (66, Bambamarca) explained:

"It's our original language. Everyone always says we have to learn English, English, but they don't even speak our own language..." (#123)

So, even though the language is not spoken or understood by the majority of *Cajamarquinos*, it is still considered 'theirs'; a marker of their past and who they are. It should be noted, however, that the people I spoke to, rallying for more Quechua education and lamenting the fact that they did not speak it themselves, were mostly activists, and might have different views on the matter as other inhabitants of Cajamarca city. When I spoke about it with a friend in the city, he told me that nobody in Cajamarca considered themselves indigenous, and seemed offended at the idea. One of the questions to ponder, then, is: if speaking Quechua is strongly associated with being indigenous, can a *mestizo* or *campesino* Cajamarcan who only speaks Spanish become more indigenous again through learning Quechua? Is this part of both the attraction, for some, and the repulsion, for others, to the notion of increasing Quechua education? As Camila (35, Cajamarca) explains:

"The parents, they've made Quechua disappear here, due to shame. Because they believe that... that it was a language that's not... that doesn't go with... with society, so, because they were discriminated against, they preferred their children not to speak Quechua. And I tell you honestly, one of those people is my grandmother. My grandmother [is] Quechua. But she didn't, she... it is... [because she feared] that we would be discriminated against like them, or, abused like they were, she preferred that we learned Spanish." (#124)

In Camila's view, speaking Quechua is a marker of indigeneity, but since she herself only speaks Spanish, she is *campesina*, regardless of her grandparents. Inheritance, thus, is less of a factor in defining 'indigenusness' than language for Camila. This is also reflected in the fact that many women and organisations have no problem recognising themselves as descending from pre-colonial peoples, while not linking this to indigeneity. Yet, the women often do link their pre-Colombian heritage to notions of alternatives to development and what it means to lead a good life. While, as I have laid out, many women recalled the pre-mining past of their childhoods as having been better than the present; when it comes to thinking about alternatives to development, many reach back even further. Looking towards the past to redefine potential futures is popular amongst the women, and, as I mentioned, is something that comes up in Andean cultures more

broadly (Galindo, 2010; Harvey, 2012; Himley, 2014; Larrain, 2000; Rowe and Schelling, 1991; Sarkisyanz, 1993; Svampa, 2013). While in some parts of South America, the Incas are considered a coloniser empire in their own right, the Cajamarcan women generally conceived of the local Inca history as a source of pride; as I mentioned, the city was the last Inca stronghold to fall to the Spanish colonisers. Since the social movements generally consider the coming of the Spanish colonisers to mark set in motion the chain of events that have ultimately led to the coming of Western forms of modernity (recall Camila's quote that marks Spanish colonisation as the beginning of 'enslavement' in Cajamarca), and the neo-colonial mine, it makes sense for the Inca time period to be what women refer back to when reflecting on the 'before *before*' – this 'before', that came directly before Spanish colonisation and its associated ills that eventually led to the problems of the current day. Recalling a conversation she had, Camila said:

“If it hadn't existed [*the mine*]. I don't know what our life would've been like, 'I told the person, 'who knows, maybe the way of life of the Incas would've been better. Exchange, you give me this... that juice, and I can give you a kilo of potatoes. It would be better'.” (#125)

Similarly, Luisa (45, Cajamarca) said:

“If that's what the Incas had, I would've preferred to remain Inca. Of course! 'Ama sua, ama llulla, ama quella' – *don't steal, don't lie, don't be lazy*.” (#126)

These women's invocations of Inca values, and traditions of exchange, imply they are indeed looking for answers in the way of life that was, or rather, that reflects their present-day interpretation of, the way of life before the Spanish colonisation; that of what they clearly recognise as their ancestors'. The strive for re-inventing and re-imagining local identities as a way to oppose imposition of outside values and designs on the landscape is then manifested through a renewed interest in traditional markers of identity. These include language and heritage, as well as the interest in preserving values that are considered under threat of being lost, and ways of making a living that fit in place. Taken together, this can ultimately lead to the question of what it means to be indigenous. The fact that Luisa says she would have preferred to 'remain' Inca indicates that while she would never identify as indigenous, she nevertheless considers her heritage to be pre-Hispanic. This tendency was addressed during a meeting of the *Rondas*, where a woman said:

“There are many that don’t want to say we are indigenous, but this is about our ancestors. In these recent years, it [indigeneity] has been reclaimed to help in these conflicts⁷¹, and [we can] decide which way of life to follow.” (#127)

The past and present racism experienced by indigenous peoples in Peru is, of course, a heavy and burdening legacy, and notions of backwardness understandably do not line up with how people view themselves or their lives (Coxshall, 2010; De la Cadena, 1998; Escárzaga, 2001; Paredes, 2007; Wade, 2001). However, this works in the government’s and international companies’ favour. In February 1995, Peru’s ratification of ILO convention 169 went into effect, giving indigenous peoples the right to be consulted prior to the commencement of extractivist projects (Piccoli, 2009; Ward et al., 2011). Currently, this does not apply to Cajamarca’s *campesino* population or most of the peoples in the Peruvian Andes in general, which is where most large scale open mining projects take place (Egerstrom, 2017). As mentioned previously, post-mining activism the *Rondas* have become central force in debates on both Cajamarcan indigeneity, and in advocating for a national constitutional reform. At another meeting of the *Rondas*, a woman stated:

“The Rondas are an important force in Cajamarca. How do we identify, do we want to call ourselves indigenous? That word has negative connotations, but we come from people and peoples before the Spaniards. The state would have to give us the rights that come with that, if we called ourselves ‘pueblos originales’. If we continue to give ourselves this mestizo identity, the state will not give us our rights [...] so far, we have identified as campesino, because we think ‘indio’ is derogative. But whilst the pueblos originales received rights, Fujimori opened the doors for international companies that hit Cajamarca hard.” (#128)

‘Missing out’ on these rights is one of the reasons the debate on ‘indigeneity’ has re-sparked, as people understandably start using a ‘human rights’ narrative when relating to extractivism projects in their areas. Furthermore, returning to old values might be a ‘safer’, less political way of labelling the activists’ intentions. While Cajamarca is a left-leaning region in Peru (Boyd, 2016), and many of the women’s – and activist groups’ – narratives on alternatives to development, including re-thinking the economy and increasing solidarity, are generally compatible with left-wing values, many activists avoid labelling themselves as such, due to the associations with the civil war and terrorism and the distrust of the ‘left’ that lives on in Peruvian society. Therefore, Pilar (36, Celendín) explained her motivation for activism as ‘common sense’, rather than political:

“We choose flora and fauna, and thereby, culture. [...] It doesn’t matter if we’re left or right, but we have to fight, it’s too dangerous to let it keep going.” (#129)

⁷¹ Elsewhere.

If the values they are defending are those of Cajamarca, historically and culturally, it is 'common sense' for the activists to want to uphold them. Several of the women, like Pilar, expressed interest in things local, cultural, and 'their own', not just out of a sense of place-attachment and belonging in the present, but also as a way to reimagine potential futures, without the mine or other constructions directly associated with Western forms of modernity, neoliberalism, or views of development. A return to this traditional and locally appropriate way of life for future generations, for some of the women, is then preferable to the type of development that neoliberalism and the mine could bring. For example, Julia (62, Cajamarca) explained:

Inge: *"And do you think it would be good if, for example, your children, your grandchildren, could live like you have, or like your parents have before?"*

Julia: *"Yes. I think, yes, it would be lovely, right? Because now, many people live very stressed, because of... the worries that, sometimes... they don't have work, or sometimes work also takes a lot out of you, right? [...] So, now one doesn't live with this tranquillity, too often, right? But... there's things we can't solve [laughs]. We have to go forward, but we'll also have to find strategies, of how to live, right? I would like it if... my grandchildren, my children, continue conserving like that, right? Growing on their land, conserving their culture, this... communicate with the people, serve the people, right? And that they don't just be served by the community, but that the community is served by them as people, as individuals, as professionals, right? Yes." (#130)*

Julia relates back to the values of community and reciprocity, as well as conserving nature, in setting out her ideal path forward. Furthermore, it is important to her that her children and grandchildren keep 'protecting', or 'conserving', as she is doing; this is in reference to her activist work and the ideas that this work is linked to conserving Cajamarcan culture and nature. So, protecting Cajamarca from outside impositions – particularly mining, but also neoliberalism in general – rather than being 'political', becomes a core value in and of itself, that she hopes future generations will align themselves with in order to continue preserving their way of life and their culture. The culture, itself, then, changes to include being 'protectors', as highlighted as well by the progression of the *Rondas Campesinas* over the years, from night watch in rural areas, to a large, influential network rallying for local rights, including the rights of nature. Camila (35, Cajamarca) links this need to 'protect culture' back to personal responsibility and dedication to keep a certain way of life tangible, by teaching future generations how to do it:

"If the parents don't... can't teach their children, once more... these values, because [if] the parents themselves start to work in the way people did before, it

could be recovered [...] Because I, to my children, for example, I... I think that my children should know where they come from.” (#131)

For the women that hold these views, the long, and on-going history of colonialism, which ultimately led to the coming of large-scale mining in Cajamarca, needs to be overturned. In this way, imagined futures become (re-)engrained in local place and belonging, and the cultural expressions that ‘fit’ in, or belong to, the area.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have critically analysed at the women’s constructions of various types of imagined futures for the region of Cajamarca: with Conga; without Conga, but with mining; without mining, but broadly within the capitalist development paradigm; or in alternatives to this form of development. The imagined presences or absences of the Conga mine, and mining in general, are central to the women’s understanding of potential futures for Cajamarca, as well as the various ways in which they, themselves, would envisage a future that is more fitting with their definition of ‘Cajamarca’, in terms of tradition, environment, history and values. The mine can hold various degrees of gravity and importance in perceptions of a ‘good’ future, and this goes for extractivism as a whole as well. I have argued that the women’s relationships with the future are permanently altered through the coming of the mine, which has become central in communicating them, and radical to oppose. Furthermore, as the women feel they are still struggling to come up a satisfactory, encompassing answer about how they conceive of a future for their region without the mine in its current form, the mine in its current form implicitly continues, or becomes the default position. For the time being, mining in its real and potential presence or absence in the region remain the central focal point around which visions of imagined futures are communicated. This, again, has triggered interesting debates on what it means to be Cajamarcan, and what Cajamarca mean, as people start looking back to a time not just before mining, but before colonialism to structure imagined desired futures for the region.

8. Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

As noted, the Peruvian state equates mining to development (Himley, 2014). Indeed, according to the women's accounts, Yanacocha was generally welcomed by Cajamarcans, as they were told it would bring development. That means that initially, to most of them, the mine had the potential to mean 'good'. The size and intensity of the anti-Conga resistance in 2012 (e.g. De la Cadena (2015b); Li (2013); Loayza (2012); Paredes Peñafiel and Li (2017) show that along the way, for many people, large-scale mines lost their potential to mean 'good', instead becoming constructed as something to fear and oppose. The women's present-day accounts of the impacts of mining, then, are necessarily shaped by their experiences of living in the impact areas of the Yanacocha mine. Ballard and Banks (2003) highlight that one of the common mistakes in research on mining is leaving the mining company as little more than a menacing presence lurking in the background (also Cheshire (2010)). While this critique is mostly directed at misunderstanding, or taking for granted statistics and 'facts' related to the mine, this thesis argues that the same holds true for the social construct of the mine held by women living in affected communities. Compared to the more intensely studied field of small-scale mining, little is yet understood of Andean local social constructs of, and the meaning assigned to, open-pit mining. This thesis has critically explored this in relation to women's accounts of the Yanacocha and Conga mines in northern Peru.

The wave of socio-environmental movements seen in Latin America during the first two decades of the twenty-first century is entering new phases, and to various extents, its participants have had time to reflect on their activism and their aims. During roughly seven months of fieldwork in Cajamarca region, I collected qualitative data about the lives of women living in areas affected by mining, as well as their accounts of the implications and meanings of Yanacocha, Conga, and socio-environmental protest. As this fieldwork was conducted several years after the time of heavy protest, it contributes to academic understanding of what happens in the aftermath of open struggle and socio-environmental conflict. This area of research, called for by Bebbington (2015), is likely to expand over the coming years. As I have critically explored, the mine continues to be used as a central pillar around which narratives of place, disruption and imagined futures are framed. This thesis furthermore answers Trudeau (2006)'s call for continued research in the relationships existing between landscape and belonging, foregrounding a case where those who 'belong' are not the ones with the most power, and Himley

(2014)'s call for a deeper engagement with the ways in which those less powerful actors in mining conflicts mobilise their visions of the past and the future.

Moreover, by focusing on women and their stories in particular, this work contributes to widening academic understanding the ways in which extractivism alters their lives; these particular gendered aspects of extractivism remain under-researched (Bebbington, 2015; Brain, 2017). This remains especially true in the particular Latin American context, where less research on gender and mining has been conducted than in Africa, Asia or Australia (e.g. Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt (2006); Bhanumathi (2002); Eftimie et al. (2009); Kachika and Hargreaves (undated-b); Kalluri and Seema Mundoli (2010, 2013); Lahiri-Dutt (2012); Macintyre (2002, 2011); Seema Mundoli (2011); Simatauw (2002)). By critically engaging with Cajamarcan women's narratives of 'the mine', this thesis analysed three distinct but related ways in which Andean women who opposed the expansion of mining have come to frame the Yanacocha mine and the (non-realised) Conga mine as sources and sites of disruption. First, in disrupting place-attachment and continuity; second, in disrupting relationships with and within the landscape, and third, in disrupting imaginations of futures. I will briefly revisit each below in turn, before suggesting areas of further research, and making final remarks.

8.2 A disruption in time and place

In chapter 5, I critically examined how the women articulate Cajamarca 'now' as being different to Cajamarca 'before'. I showed how the opening of the Yanacocha mine becomes the precise moment in time women point to, in order to highlight when life in Cajamarca began to change for the worse. Therefore, I argue, for the women of Cajamarca, the opening of the Yanacocha mine has come to represent an abrupt disruption in the continuity of place; rupturing long-standing feelings of place-attachment. As I mentioned, academic attention on the disruption of place-attachment due to globalisation, mobility and environmental changes often goes to forced relocation or voluntary migration (Gifford and Kestler, 2008; Gustafson, 2001; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). This work contributes to these debates by exploring how such a rupture is experienced by those staying in place, arguing disturbance of place-attachment in place is associated with invisible and taken for granted aspects of everyday life getting lost. In the 'now', then, outside norms and values are necessarily constructed to have replaced those that belonged 'in place'. This is evidenced by the women's accounts of traditions, social norms, values and customs, either getting lost, altered, or having to become

actively practised to be preserved. I argue, then, that beyond its direct impacts on the city, urban Cajamarcan women who oppose the mine see the context of their lives as meaningfully altered by its presence, as it interrupts their perception of place-continuity.

Furthermore, as I have argued, 'modernity', globalisation, and the various forms the women have observed these taking in Cajamarca city over the last 25-30 years (e.g. the increases in supermarkets, international chain stores, imported food,...), similarly become communicated as linked to the opening of the Yanacocha mine. I have shown this has had implications for how women relate to their region, and are re-inventing place-attachment in new alliances. As the regional capital of a fundamentally rural region, Cajamarca city is at a crossroads of a double Peruvian geographical divide: on the one hand, that of the urban versus the rural, on the other, that of the coast versus the mountains. Various scholars have explored how in both imagined geographies, the former represents the 'modern' and the '*mestizo*', the latter the '*campesino* and/or indigenous' and the 'backward' (De la Cadena, 2005, 2008, 2010; McCormick, 1992; Orlove, 1993; Radcliffe et al., 2003; Wade, 2001; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). My thesis contributes to this work by furthering debates on the fluidity and strategic uses of such identities in the context of extractivism. By rejecting the values associated with the mine, the women reject the increasing integration of Cajamarca city into national and international ways of life more associated with life in the 'coast'. Instead, they embrace Cajamarca's position in the mountain region, long imagined to not necessarily to be outside of, but also not be fully part of subsequent Peruvian governments' attempts to strive for a European, or western, type of modernity (De la Cadena, 1998, 2010; Wade, 2001). Simultaneously, and consequently, I argue, the relationship between the urban and the rural was re-examined. After all, urban women spoke of a rural-urban divide in the time preceding heavy activism, where the way of life associated with the countryside was looked down upon to some extent. They articulated that through the activist coalitions, formed during the anti-Conga movements, their appreciation of the struggle and the way of life of the *campesinos* grew, fostering a sense of solidarity and appreciation for the way of life in the countryside. Rather than associated with backwardness, in the context of potential continuing extractivism, the way of life associated with rural areas became imbued with meaning of continuity.

8.3 A disruption in landscape and natural connections

As evidenced in chapter 6, the women often communicated their emotional connections to the landscape and the relationships within it, particularly in the process of the drawing of maps of 'sites of change'. Various scholars have highlighted the potential of visual methods to create additional, different knowledge in the research process (Guillemin and Drew, 2010; Packard, 2008). The type of free mapping exercise I have used has been little used in research related to women at the extractivist frontier, and/or women involved in social movements, and allowed them to forward those places and impacts they considered most important. In this way, the women articulate a second way in which the mine represents disruption: the disruption of landscape and long connections between nature, natural entities and local people's place within this system. Not just visually, but culturally, these, and other physical manifestations of the mine come to represent its 'out of place-ness' on the one hand, and its far-reaching powers to alter and infiltrate, on the other. Again, the mine is understood as a disruption in the logical timeline from the past to the present, not fitting with local socio-cultural perceptions of place and landscape.

As Starn (1991) and Li (2013) argue, the idea of Cajamarca region as highly *mestizo*, having lost its connection to pre-Colombian modes of being, is an oversimplification; they explore different aspects of how pre-colonial ways of life are practised by *campesina/o* Cajamaricans. In chapter 6, by critically examining how women articulate their relationships with the landscape and its natural inhabitants as having been disrupted by the coming of the mine, I have contributed to this work and the literature on Peruvian Andean relationships with nature and the relationships found within the landscape more widely (Boelens, 2014; De la Cadena, 2010, 2015a, 2015b; Harvey, 2010; Li, 2013; Paredes Peñafiel and Li, 2017; Stensrud, 2016). Specifically, I critically explore how these relationships exist and are communicated not only by *campesina* women, but by urban and/or *mestiza* women as well. This work, then, goes some way to challenge the duality of the Cajamarcan women's experiences of the modern/traditional, rural/urban, *mestiza/campesina*. Instead, I argue, in the context of the coming of the mine, they embrace fluid identities in their communication of their meaningful relationships with place, history, nature and landscape, both to speak about what is lost, what is under threat, and to show their reasoning for continued involvement in local organisations in the aftermath of mass-protests.

8.4 A disruption of continuity and future

In chapter 7, I have outlined some of the ways the women look at potential futures for Cajamarca, and how these are articulated around several scenarios regarding mining. As Bebbington and Bury (2009) argue, “*Maps of mining concessions can be viewed as maps of uncertainty*” (p.17299); this uncertainty is part of everyday life in Cajamarca, as Yanacocha constantly proposes new plans for expansion, and rumours about illegal work going on are always making the rounds. My data chapters have evidenced how to the women that oppose mining, in the ‘now’, nature, people, and even the future have become unreliable. To some Cajamarcan women, a future with mining means there no future is possible at all. This could be mining’s biggest misfit of all: not only is it incompatible with the way of life in Cajamarca, it may be incompatible with the possibility of living, or being alive, in Cajamarca altogether. Just as the mine broke the connection between the past and present in the narratives of the women that oppose it, so it did with the future.

Various scholars have, to different extents and with different points of focus, explored the relationships between anti-extractivism social movements and a call for alternative forms of development or alternatives to development (Acosta, 2013; Aguinaga et al., 2013; De Echave, 2005; Escobar, 2007; Gudynas, 2013a; Lander, 2013; Vega, 2013). Indeed, much of the discourse women used in their interviews and meetings is not unique to Cajamarca, but recalls wider Latin American, particularly Andean, ideas of development and alternatives to it, even though the same banners of ‘indigeneity’ or ‘*Buen Vivir*’ are not used (as similarly argued by Svampa (2013)). Bebbington et al. (2008) mention it is difficult for the Cajamarcan activist groups to voice a consensus on alternatives to mining in their region, as opinions vary so widely. From my experience, there continues to be a lack of clear consensus among the women, the women’s organisations, and the environmental groups I observed, and opinions vary from ‘a more responsible form of mining is necessary’ to ‘other forms of economic development are necessary’ to ‘an alternative to neoliberal development is necessary’. I have argued, some of the problematic inherent in discussions of desired futures and alternatives is how they are complicated by the fact that imagining a future without mining has rapidly become a radical departure from the status quo, rather than a continuation of it. I critically explore how this leads the women to fear that if the mine and the cultural shifts associated with it become more dominant, their culture will eventually be eroded, their sense of self will be lost, and they themselves will become the outsiders in their own

region. What becomes clear from their words about, and reactions to, the impacts the mine has had on their lives on the one hand, and the things that they assign value to other, is that imagined successful futures for Cajamarca must be *fitting* with the region – e.g., in terms of historical continuity – and be based on forces for good, as opposed to the evil that the mine has come to represent.

8.5 Areas of further research

Through the analysis set out in this work, several further avenues for further research can be identified:

First of all, this work has focused both on accounts of urban and *mestiza*-identifying women and on that of *campesina*-identifying women. In doing so, it has drawn several parallels between their narratives, and furthered academic understanding of urban women's relationships with, among others, notions such as modernity and landscape. By including Natalia's story, the only woman I interviewed in favour of the opening of the Conga mine, I have shown that she, too, voiced narratives of connections with place and landscape when describing the effects of mining in Cajamarca. The stories of women supporting the mine, then, may not be as 'different' as expected. However, Natalia's story suggests that while her views of the mine's impacts on place and living landscape are similar, she is less likely to see the past in a positive light, has more trust in the state and the mining company's ability to act responsibly, sees 'modernity' as 'development', and is more willing to find individual solutions to the problem; e.g. moving away. This may indicate her attachment to place is not as strong as that of the women who oppose Conga. However, since Natalia is the only woman I spoke to who supported Conga, further research is needed to understand how the views of Andean women supporting mining are similar in some areas, and diverge in others, from those who oppose mining. Thereby, we could generate a more well-rounded understanding of what are the truly defining factors in driving someone to oppose, or support, extractivism, and how narratives are formed to fit each view accordingly.

Second, it has been beyond the scope of this research, or indeed the expertise of this researcher, to investigate in detail the mental health impacts related to the various ways in which the women see the mine as having meaningfully caused disruptions to their lives and their relationships. I have shown, of course, that connections to place, landscape, and history, and their disruptions, are deeply felt, which is obviously related

to a variety of emotions. Furthermore, I have shown how continued opposition to the mine may be isolating and alienating for women. It follows, then, that this can have deep and lasting impacts on women's mental health, which is a concern to be taken seriously. Therefore, detailed research into mental health is required to further understanding of gendered impacts of mining in this respect, and how to better support women who are suffering, and bolster their resilience.

Furthermore, this research has provided insight into what happens in the lives of women in the aftermath of heavy socio-environmental conflicts, a relatively underexplored area of research. It has highlighted how the mine continues to play a role in their everyday life, and their interactions with place and landscape continue to be altered by it. Thus, they continue to engage with the mine, assigning meaning to it in their everyday lives, which in turn fuels their on-going need to think about alternatives to it. Further research might investigate how women that were/are active in times of intense activism continue their political activity in the context of new waves of social movements related to different topics; for example, building bridges between socio-environmental and feminist movements such as the *Ni Una Menos* campaign. Furthermore, undertaking such research in other areas is important, as this research has necessarily been heavily place-specific. While dormant, the anti-mining sentiment overall is still supported by many Cajamarcans. Case studies in sites where activism has been of a smaller scale, or more scattered, could give insight into how the lives of women continue when their opposition to mining (comes to) represents a more 'niche' point of view.

8.6 Concluding thoughts

By focusing on the emblematic case of Yanacocha and Conga in northern Peru, I conclude that the women of Cajamarca that oppose the mine do so from a place of feeling affected by it in ways that go beyond the direct, tangible impacts of mining. Instead, their opposition is similarly informed by their understanding of the mine's less tangible impacts. These are important to take into consideration precisely because they highlight the meaning that is given to that which is disrupted, and how they are (re-)negotiated in the presence of the mine. Fundamentally, in the women's reflections, the mine becomes framed as an abrupt disruption of the status quo; a disruption of continuity and long-standing connections of belonging in place and landscape. I argue that in order to understand how women live with mining – in other words, how their daily lives are shaped in a mining affected region – it is pertinent not to ignore the various ways in which

they continue to interpret, interact with, resist and give meaning to the mine. After all, their narratives of disruption tell us something about what the mine *means*, or comes to represent, to them; in other words, how they interpret both the mine itself and its fundamental impacts on their everyday lives. This thesis, then, has argued for the need to engage critically with women's sociocultural interpretations and conceptualisations of the entity of the mine in order to grasp the gendered dimensions of extractivism in a given place.

Finally, this research argues for the need to continue to engage with women and their needs after a period of heavy activism is over. As I have shown, impacts of both existing mining cases, and the threat of proposed mining cases, endure. It is pertinent to identify women's needs, experiences and struggles at all stages of extractivism; examining the gendered impacts, disruptions, and resistance strategies along the way. Focusing on what women themselves place central as most important or helpful in the various stages of resistance, from the public to the everyday, enhances our ability to appreciate, validate, and bolster them along the way.

Appendices

Appendix I: Interview schedule

Spanish

1. Introducción de la entrevista y grabar consentimiento

- a. Hablar con la persona sobre las intenciones de la entrevista e investigación; hablar sobre sus preguntas/preocupaciones
- b. Grabar consentimiento verbal -> grabar, citas

2. Información básica

- a. ¿Cuántos años tiene, si quiere decirlo?
- b. ¿Dónde vive ahora y de dónde es usted? -> otra parte: Cuántos años vive aquí?
- c. ¿Con quién vive, en su casa?

3. Maneras de ganarse la vida e ingresos + cambios

Presente

- a. ¿Puede contarme algo sobre la vida en donde vive?
 - i. Por ejemplo: ¿Puede hablar sobre un día/semana típica para usted?
- b. ¿Puede contarme sobre cómo su familia se gana la vida?
 - i. Trabajo/maneras de obtener ingresos.
 - ii. ¿Qué otras tareas tiene/son importantes/se deben realizar para mantener el hogar?
 - iii. ¿Quién hace qué tareas? Hombres/mujeres?

Pasado

- c. ¿Puede contarme cómo ha cambiado la manera de cómo se gana la vida? (¿cambios en seguridad, oportunidades, cambios que han hecho? ¿Por qué eran necesarios?)
 - i. ¿Cómo han cambiado las tareas para hombres y mujeres?
- d. ¿Puede contarme algo sobre como la minería ha cambiado su vida/la vida de su familia/sus tareas/maneras de obtener ingresos?

- i. ¿Cómo cree usted que la mina tiene la responsabilidad en estos cambios en su vida?
- e. ¿Puede contarme sobre la comunidad donde vivía como niña? (Aquí/en otra parte)
 - i. ¿Cómo se ganaba la vida la gente?
 - ii. ¿Tenía algunas tareas?
 - iii. ¿Han cambiado las tareas para los hombres y para las mujeres desde que era niña?
- f. ¿Puede contarme sobre la diferencia en cómo usted se gana la vida y cómo su madre/padres lo hacían?
 - i. ¿Ha notado algunos cambios en lo que hacía/hacían, después de que la mina llegó?
 - ii. ¿Cómo hablaba/hablaban sobre la mina después de su llegada?
 - iii. ¿Recuerda algunas historias que han contado sobre la vida en la comunidad cuando ellos eran niños? ¿Cómo era?

Futuro

- g. ¿Cómo piensa que sus hijos/nietos/generaciones futuras vivirán aquí?
- h. ¿Pienso que las generaciones futuras tendrán la posibilidad de vivir de la misma manera que usted y sus antepasados?
 - i. ¿Por qué (no)?
 - ii. ¿Sería bueno si pudieran vivir como usted/sus antepasados?

4. Minería

- a. ¿Cuál es su opinión sobre la minería?
- b. **Mapa:** ¿Qué tipos de cambios piensa que la minería ha traído a la comunidad?
- c. ¿Cómo ve la situación actual?
- d. (*En contra de la mina*) ¿Puede contarme sobre las maneras en que usted se resiste/muestra que está en contra de la minería?
 - i. ¿De qué organizaciones es parte?
 - ii. ¿Pienso que ha cambiado algo?
 - iii. ¿Puede contarme si y cómo su resistencia ha influido su vida diaria?
 - iv. ¿Puede contarme si y cómo esto ha influido la manera en que se gana la vida?
 - v. ¿Puede contarme si y cómo la resistencia ha cambiado la comunidad?

- e. *(En favor de la mina)* ¿Que opina de los movimientos anti-mineros? Como impactaron a usted/la comunidad?
- f. ¿Qué tipos de beneficios ha traído la mina para usted/la comunidad? (Si ninguno: ¿la minería podría tener beneficios?)
 - i. ¿Usted, o alguien en su familia trabaja para la mina o obtienen ingresos gracias a vender cosas a la mina/los mineros?
- g. ¿Qué tipos de desventajas ha traído la mina?
- h. ¿Qué piensa que la presencia de la minería significa para las generaciones futuras?

5. Genero

- a. ¿Puede contarme cómo a usted, siendo mujer, le afecta la minería?
- b. ¿Ha hablado sobre esas cosas con otras mujeres? ¿Piensan que se podría hacer algo para cambiar [alguna] situación negativa?
- c. ¿Cómo piensa que estas cosas van a afectar el futuro de sus hijas/nietas/mujeres en la comunidad?

6. Para terminar

- a. Resumen de las cosas sobre las que hemos hablado
- b. Preguntar a la entrevistada si hay alguna cosa que quiera revisar/clarificar/decir más sobre, o cortar/borrar
- c. Tiempo para cualquier pregunta de la entrevistada, asegurarme que saben cómo contactarme en caso de tener preguntas en el futuro
- d. ¿Desea recibir una copia escrita de la entrevista?
- e. ¿Conoce otras mujeres que tal vez quisieran participar? ¿Podría ponerme en contacto con ellas?
- f. Dar las gracias y explicar cuán importante es su apoyo

English

1. Introducing the interview and recording consent

- a. Talking to the interviewee about purpose of the interview and research (information sheet); making sure questions/concerns are addressed
- b. Walking the interviewee through the consent form, recording verbal consent;

2. Collecting basic information

- a. Age, where do they come from, who do they live with

3. Way of making a living and income + changes

Present

- a. Can you tell me about life in your community?
 - i. For example: can you tell me what an average day/week looks like for you?
- b. Could you tell me about how your family makes make a living?
 - i. In terms of work/generating income (who does what?)
 - ii. What other tasks do you have/find important/need to be done in order to sustain household (a typical day/week)
 - iii. Who performs which tasks (men/women)?

Past

- c. Could you tell me how the way you make a living has changed? (changes in security, opportunities, changes they decided/had to make and reasons therefore)?
 - i. Have the tasks for men vs for women changed?
- d. Can you tell me how the mine made a difference for you/your family in your tasks/income generating activities?
 - i. How much do you think the mine has influenced these changes in your life?
- e. Could you tell me about the community you grew up in? (Here or elsewhere)
 - i. How did most people make their living?
 - ii. Did you have any tasks?
 - iii. Have the tasks for men vs for women changed since you were growing up?
- f. Could you tell me how the way you make a living differs from what your mother/parents do(es)/did?

- i. Did you notice any changes in what she/they did, after the mine came?
- ii. How did she/they talk about the mine after it came?
- iii. Can you recount stories they told of what community life was like was when they were growing up?

Future

- g. How do you think your children/grandchildren/future generations will live here?
- h. Will future generations be able to live in the same way as you and/or your ancestors?
 - i. Why/why not?
 - ii. Would it be good if they could live like you or your ancestors have?

4. On mining:

- a. What is your opinion on the mine?
- b. **Mapping:** What kind of changes do you think the mine brought to the community?
- c. How do you see the current situation?
- d. CON Can you tell me about the ways you resist/show you are against mining?
 - i. What organizations are you part of?
 - ii. Do you think it has made a difference?
 - iii. Can you tell me how this influenced your daily life?
 - iv. Can you tell me how this has influenced the way you make a living?
 - v. Can you tell me how it has changed the community?
- e. PRO What do you think of anti-mining actions/do they impact you/the community?
- f. What kind of benefits did the mine bring you? (if none: could it have benefits?)
 - i. Do you or one of your family members work for the mine or generate any income from selling to the mine/mine-workers?
- g. What kind of disadvantages has the mine brought?
- h. What do you think the presence of the mine means for future generations?

5. Gender

- a. Can you tell me how you, as a women, are affected by the mine?
- b. Do you talk about these differences with others? Could something be done to change [any] negative situation?
- c. How do you think this will affect the future of your daughters/ granddaughters/ women in the community?

6. **Finishing the interview**

- a. Sum-up of some of the things we talked about;
- b. Asking the interviewee if there is any topic they'd still to revisit/clarify/forgot to mention, or want to take off the record;
- c. Time for questions the interviewee has, make sure they know how to contact me in case of any further questions;
- d. Would you like to receive a written copy of this interview?
- e. Do you know any other women that might want to participate? Can you put me in contact with them?
- f. Thanking them/explaining again how valuable their input is.

Appendix II: List of interviews

Interviewees living in Cajamarca city

Born in Cajamarca city

1. Natalia, 37, **never** active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)
2. Ana, 42, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)
3. Luisa, 45, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)
4. Laura, 50, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)
5. Sandra, 58, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)
6. Julia, 62, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)

Also quoted: Eva, 54, currently active in social movements

Born in rural areas

7. Sofía, 27, **not currently** active in social movements, campesina (map in chapter 6)
8. Elena, 29, **never** active in social movements, campesina (map in appendix IV)
9. Camila, 35, currently active in social movements, campesina (map in chapter 6)
10. Clara, 48, currently active in social movements, campesina (chose not to make a map)
11. Valeria, 50, currently active in social movements, campesina (chose not to make a map)

Interviewees living in Bambamarca town

Born in Bambamarca town

12. Alejandra, 52, currently active in social movements, campesina (map in appendix IV)

Born in rural areas

13. Mariela, 36, currently active in social movements, campesina (chose not to make a map)
14. Beatriz, 65, currently active in social movements, campesina (map in chapter 6)
15. Luz, 66, currently active in social movements, campesina (chose not to make a map)

Interviewees living in Celendín town

Born in Celendín town

- 16. Elizabeth, 42, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in appendix IV)
- 17. Emma, 63, currently active in social movements, mestiza (chose not to make a map)

Born in rural areas

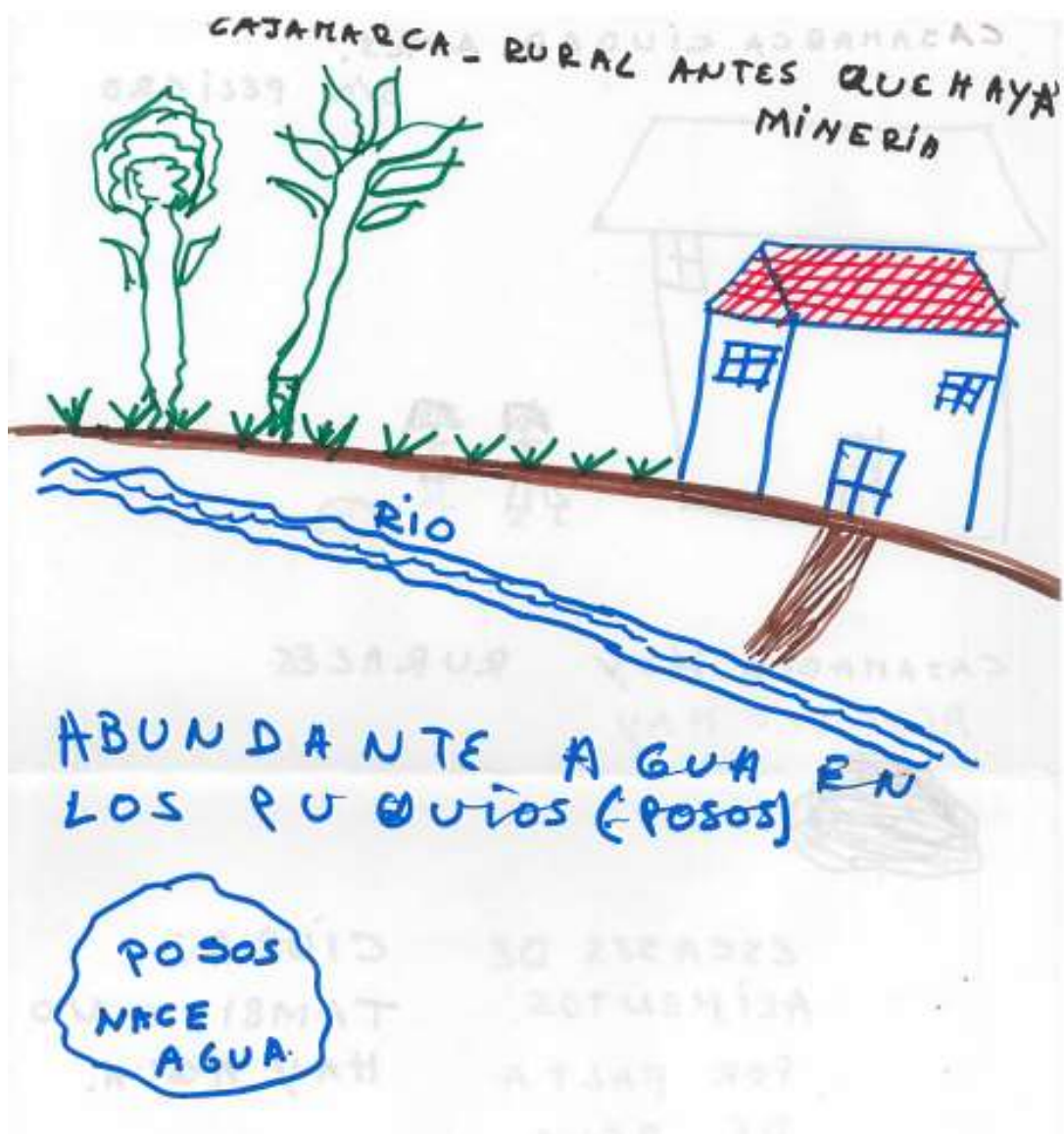
- 18. Pilar, 36, currently active in social movements, campesina (map in appendix IV)
- 19. Marilou, 41, **not currently** active in social movements, mestiza (map in appendix IV)
- 20. Stefanie, 56, currently active in social movements, mestiza (map in chapter 6)

Appendix IV: Unused maps



Map "4.5": The flip side of Laura's map

Showing Cajamarca is home to eight proposed mining project and a hydro-electric dam.



Map "10.5": The flip side of Luisa's map

An imagined scene in rural Cajamarca before the mine came: water was abundant.

[Place name redacted for anonymity]



[Place name redacted for anonymity]

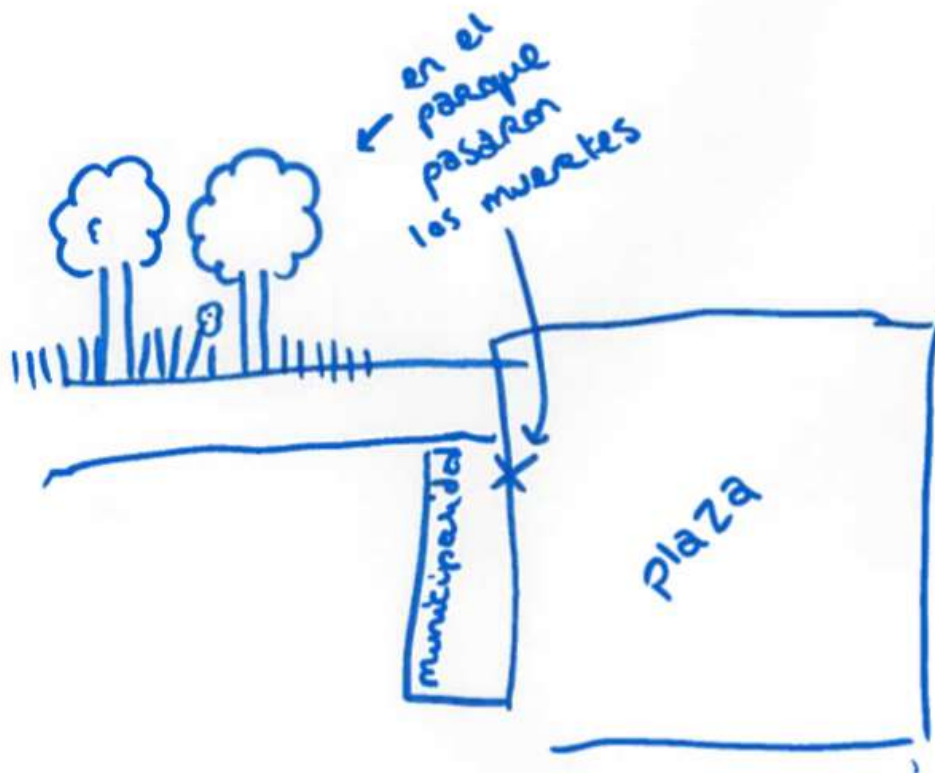
Map 11: Alejandra, Bambamarca

Polluted crops and rivers in two villages on the outskirts of Bambamarca town, that Alejandra knows very well.



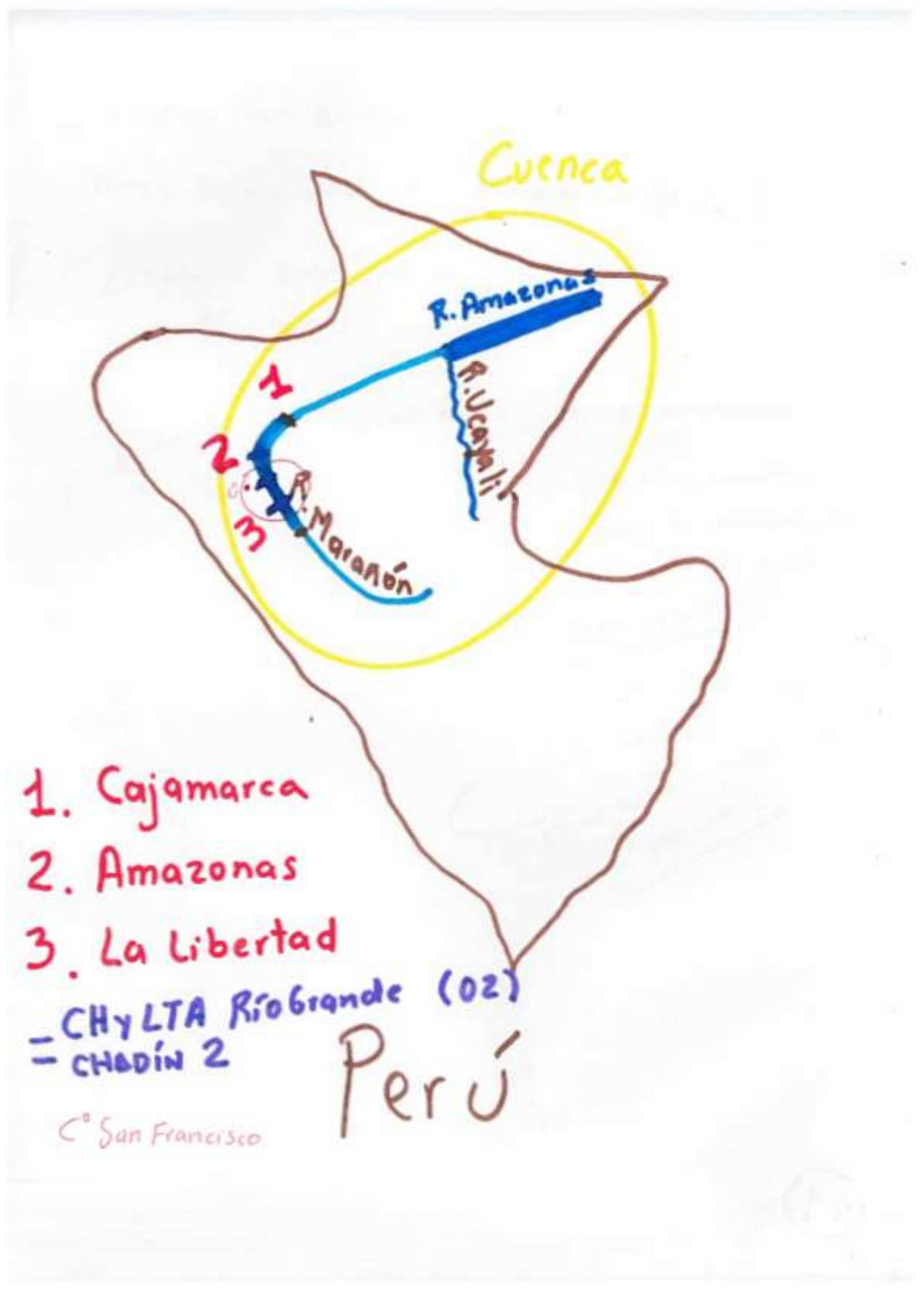
Map 12: Elena, Cajamarca

A map of the house she grew up in, located in a rural village. Drawn in relation to notable landmarks such as specific mountains and sources of water. This district is not yet touched by mining. No markers used as her children were playing with them.



Map 13: Marilou, Celendín

A map of Celendín town. On Marilou's request, I drew the map while she instructed me. It shows the Plaza de Armas and two sites where, during the time of heavy protests, anti-mining activists were killed. For reasons of anonymity, I have not included much of Marilou's story, which I felt would leave her easily identified. However, by sharing this map here I hope to do her some justice, as it highlights the heaviest impact of the mine overall to her (and many others): the loss of life.



Map 14: Elizabeth, Celendín

A map of Peru, highlighting the Marañón river (and its eventual flow into the Amazon river); the location of the proposed hydro-electric dams of Chadín one and two, and Río Grande are marked. These would affect communities in eastern Celendín province and are opposed by various local organisations.



Map 15: Pilar, Celendín

A map of Celendín province, divided into districts, highlighting various events and clashes between local populations, the government, and companies. Important to her are clashes involving the proposed Conga mine as well as the proposed hydroelectric dams in the Marañon river.

Appendix III: Original Spanish Quotes

Chapter 5

#1: Redacted for privacy, Cajamarca:

Inge: “Si quiere decirlo, cuántos años tiene?”

[Redacted]: “Soy Cajamarquina, soy profesora, tengo un poco más de cuarenta.”

[Redacted]: “Yo lo digo con mucho orgulloso que soy cajamarquina. Porque, cuando era niña, ya me sentía cajamarquina. Toda mi vida - he hecho aquí mis estudios, mi familia se sentaba aquí, tengo mi trabajo aquí, soy cajamarquina.”

#2: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

Sandra: “Nos estamos aquí en Cajamarca, y Cajamarca es bella, es linda, por eso que nosotros hemos decidido quedarnos aquí. A pesar de tantos dificultados y problemas también que siempre existen, no?, Pero... nosotros decidimos quedarnos aquí, al lado de mi madre, y todos tenemos un... una pequeña casita, donde... vivimos desde que hemos nacido. [...] Cajamarca es bella, es hermosa, nuestra tierra. Su cielo azul... [...] Si, aquí es otro mundo, parece, no? Porque... me conozco muchos sitios; Ica, Arequipa, Moquegua, conozco Chiclayo, pero... hay nada que se parezca a Cajamarca. Nada es igual a Cajamarca, aunque me ofrezcan mucho dinero, no me quedaría en ninguna de esos pueblos, solamente estaría aquí. Si. Porque aquí es otro ambiente, otra ciudad. Muy bonita. Muy bonita.”

Inge: “Y que es lo que más le gusta de Cajamarca, entonces?”

Sandra: “Bueno, de Cajamarca hay muchas cosas, por ejemplo, su clima, su... su gente. Su gente que son amable, somos bien confiables, no? Y también por ejemplo, su agricultura, su ganadería, que hay en gran dimensión...”

#3: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

“se hacían las fiestas patronales, las fiestas de los santos, no llegué a darle idea completamente a las fiestas de las cruces, que mi mama decía ‘trabajábamos un año, para hacer una gran fiesta, a que todo de las comunidades vecinas vengan, y coman...’ todos comían, y todo los que eran mayordomos encargaban de que nadie de grande a pequeño se quedó sin comer. Y los que tenían familia que dejaban en sus casas, lleven la chana – que nos llamábamos nosotros, chana es una palabra quechua, que significa el guardadito para el que se queda en la casa, que no pudo venir. Entonces, se llevó su

comida, se llevó sus golosinas. Entonces, aparte de que iban bien comidos, llevaban todavía.”

#4: Valeria, 50, Cajamarca:

“Así ha sido antes nuestra tierra: por ejemplo, mi mamá, nos encontraban almorzando, ‘tengan, tengan’, y ella se paraba allí: ‘coman, coman!’ A nadie le taparon la olla.”

#5: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“Se vivieron muy en armonía, no? Por eso también a nosotros nos han dado prácticamente ese ejemplo y... le quería mucho a la gente de afuera [...] Llegan a mi casa y yo estoy almorzando, le hago pasar y les doy un plato de comida, no? Y eso es mi... nuestro costumbre, ya, no? No se nos puede quitar. Y bueno mientras... se puede hay que hacerlo. Sí.”

#6: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

Cajamarca ha sido tan tranquila, tan inocente, como si fuera un niño de 3 o 4 años, no sabíamos que era una mina, una empresa...

#7: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Sí, bueno, en realidad los protestas han dado... diré yo, un buen resultado. Porque Cajamarca siempre ha sido un pueblo tranquilo, nunca dijo nada, nunca ha pedido nada.”

#8: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“Porque, pues, vivíamos felices y contentos, no pensábamos que iba a venir una persona de afuera y se iba a traer todo abajo... pero ahora ya estamos con los ojos bien abiertos.”

#9: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“Ya todo pasa por la mina. ¡Si me muriese mi gatita, sería por la mina!”

#10: Elizabeth, 42, Celendín:

“Entonces, nosotros no queremos que fácilmente ellos vengan aquí, contaminen todo, con el mismo engaño con el oro. Porque son gente, para nosotros, metalizada, que esos son... ya no tienen alma, no sienten. No les interesa cuanta gente sufra, ni nada.”

#11: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“Lo dije también con otra amiguita, le dije, ‘discúlpeme que yo soy tan sincera, pero si hubiese venido en otra época, no las hubiésemos recibido.’ Porque nosotros estuvimos tan resentidos, que toda la gente de otro lado solamente era para hacernos daño. Pero nosotros ya nos dimos cuenta que no es así. [...] volvimos a tener fe, y volvimos a creer, que no solamente lo malo viene de afuera, sino también hay gente buena.”

#12: Alejandra, 52, Bambamarca:

“ha traído gente desconocidas. No sabemos qué clase de personas son.”

#13: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“no quisiéramos que nuestra ciudad se queda como Chiclayo, como Trujillo, donde hay este... ladrones a sueldo, no?”

#14: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“Si, Yanacocha nos ha traído eso, porque mire, más antes cuando yo te digo el pueblito era pequeña, no había rateros, no había prostitutas, [...] el problema es de... con la llegada de Yanacocha, ha venido la prostitución, ladronera, han venido de otros ciudades, [...] te digo sinceramente, que en Cajamarca no hay muchos rateros, chiquitos, pero no hay rateros, lo que hay rateros es en eh... de... de afuera, Chiclayo, Trujillo,... de ahí vienen, y especialmente a malograr a Cajamarca.”

#15: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

“están ricas, millonarios, con carros, con esto, con otro”

#16: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“le digo: ‘ese es el desarrollo de la mina, tiene que ver la discoteca con la mina, si señores, tiene que ver mucho,’ porque Cajamarca nunca supimos que hubiera una discoteca. La discoteca ha venido con estas transnacionales, con el dinero, a una discoteca van los que tienen dinero”

#17: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“La gente... por querer que te ven en el supermercado, comprando, con tarjeta,... porque vean este... andado por el mercado, que te compras una ropa ya tienes plata. Cambia

la cultura, pues. Cambia parte de nuestra cultura. Yo tengo que ir a comprar en el Quinde, porque si no voy a comprar en el Quinde, no tengo plata. [...] que voy a comprar ropa en... en... San Antonio, por ejemplo, no?, tengo que ir al quinde, en el quinde venden buena ropa. Paso mi tarjeta. Entonces, que? Quieras o no quieras la gente va a cambiando poco a poco parte de su cultura.

#18: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

Camila: “Yo lo veo así, parte de nuestra cultura, para venir al mercado. Comprar las cosas que... que la gente trae de arriba, del... de las partes altas donde, donde hacen sus papas, decíamos, su yuca, encontrarlo y comprarlo. Pero ahora no. Que, que quieren cambiar? Traer los supermercados, permitiendo que crezca... el Quinde, que crezca a ver, el Plaza,... donde todo lo encuentras pelado, y te dan más, más caro. La minería, los mineros, que dicen? Las autoridades han permitido que han tres supermercados grandes,... porque no mejorar el mercado de acá por ejemplo? Para que puede ver más gente. Porque tienen que traer supermercados?”

Inge: “Y piense que es por la presencia de la mina que ahora hay, como, los supermercados han venido,...?”

Camila: “ Sí. Sí. yo creo que sí, porque, antes no había, no existía. No existía hasta... el primero que vino creo que es el Quinde, qué es hace 10 años. Cuando ya la mina tenía un tiempo ya. O sea, no había, no existía, no existía.”

#19: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Si, yo pienso que, que depende de una buena alimentación, mejores condiciones de vida, porque, ahora [...] yo veo que venden en un quiosco diferentes productos con conservadores, con colorantes diferentes... 100 de calidades de dulces, de caramelos, [...] entonces, eso ya no es una alimentación natural. Con conservantes [...] estamos en una era de puro, hasta las papitas lo traen envueltas ya fritas, y en bolsitas, en su bolsita... a eso me refiero, antes no, se comían las papas... secadas de la chacra. Con su huacatay, se comía con su sopita de chochoca [...] tantas cosas, pero... más naturales.”

#20: Eva, 54, Cajamarca:

“...comer comidas que nunca nosotros hemos visto, nunca hemos conocido, y ya... esas cosas en unas latas, embolsado... todo eso... nos choque, nos enferma realmente.”

#21: Eva, 54, Cajamarca:

“Ya podemos comer, por ejemplo, los que comemos alimentos naturales, estaremos un pocito, un tiempo, quizás. Pero ya no tampoco nos garantiza que nos va a ayudar mucho, porque también las plantas están contaminadas.”

#22: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“Mira, para carnavales por ejemplo, yo, cuando era jovencita, salíamos a cantar – de familiar a familiar a familiar. Un grupo de 15-20 personas, no? Salíamos con toda la tranquilidad, porque nunca nos pasaba nada. No nos robaban, no nos pegaban, no nos masacraban, nada. Ahora, vienen unos atrevidos, costeros, que viven por las barriadas, te gritan, te pegan, te insultan, te... ya no puedes hacer nada. El carnaval se ha... se ha distorsionado. Y me da mucha pena decirlo porque antes era una fiesta preciosa. [...] en el 1992, salimos con todito mis primos, 8, como 15 personas, todo Cajamarca, dando la vuelta, de ahí seguíamos cantando, bailando. [...] Y toda la noche andábamos así, cantando, cantando... entonces, pero ahora, ay, no, da miedo salir hasta la plaza de armas.”

#23: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“...que el carnaval todavía perdura es verdad. Pero... El carnaval ha cambiado. Parta de nuestra cultura era que tú vengas a la ciudad, a tu sitio, a ver la... la... el corre, estas actividades, pero sin pagar. Entonces, por la minería todo se ha vuelto... la misma minera ha provocado eso. la misma minera hacía parcos, y vendía. entonces, ahora [...] ahora tú, te vas a ver la cosa, pero si quieres ver, tienes que pagar este parco, 40 soles. Antes no, antes tu venías, guardaba sitio, guardaba sitio, no pagabas, guardabas. Así es. Pero ahora no, ahora lo he visto, lo ven todo negocio. Entonces, ya, tu cultura, que hace? Cambiar. Tu cultura, esa cultura de que tú lo hacías gratis, para que todos vean, ya cambia, ahora tiene un... un precio. 40 soles, 20 soles, entonces ya cambia.”

#24: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“Cajamarca ha sido una ciudad... bueno, más pequeña, de relaciones personales más cercanas, yo recuerdo mi calle, todos nos conocíamos, hemos visitado a este vecino tanto y ese vecino tanto, por ejemplo... en comparación, por ejemplo, ahora mi calle está llena de desconocidos, que ganan y vienen, porque varias casas se convirtieron en quintas, y donde tienen cuartos por ahí la gente que trabaja en la mina. Ya es gente que no son vecinos muy cercanos, ¿no?”

#25: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“Entonces, eso es el detalle que de tiempo aquí, ya empezó a cambiar todo, entre vecinos no nos conocemos. No sabemos – igualito aquí – yo salgo ‘hola vecina, buenas tardes’, pero si tiene algún problema no me interesa, ni a ellos tampoco, porque vivimos cada uno en nuestro mundo. [...] Cada uno es como así, cada uno en su casa, tuviera sus quehaceres, y nadie se preocupa por nadie. Así, pase lo que pase. Entonces ese... eso es muy malo. Yo lo siento, que es muy malo.”

#26: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“la gente no, para nosotros no era desconocida, era como nuestra familia, así no sepamos su nombre... simplemente que venía alguien, tocaba la puerta ‘Señora disculpe, estoy perdido/atrasado, porque mi pueblo es lejos, y me cogió la lluvia, deme posada’ – ‘¡Pase, señor, pase, descanse!’ La mejor frazada, la mejor cobija, hagan caldito... preparen cualquier cosa. Denle, pobrecito, a que llegue a su tierra. Al otro día temprano su fiambre, y se iban. Entonces dígame, a nosotros nos duele. ¿Ahora es así? No.”

#27: Valeria, 50, Cajamarca:

“Es como que las buenas costumbres ya no existieran. Antes, en el camino, a donde íbamos, nos encontrábamos, nunca nos veíamos como personas extrañas, todos nos saludábamos, hasta las policías. ‘Buenos días, mi jefe, buenos días, jefecito’ – todos. En cambio, ahora, no. Porque realmente ellos se han prestado para que... el pueblo nos reprima, y nos repriman con armas... letales, pues. Nos han sacado la vida – en Bambamarca, Celendín, ... fue lo peor que ha podido pasar.”

#28: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“ya nosotros no tenemos ejército. Ya no. Viven en Cajamarca, algunos, está la construcción, la infraestructura, pero ya no nos pertenecen. Igual la policía. La policía tiraba matarnos, [...] era para nosotros lo peor que podía ver. Y ver tantísima, desgracia, sobre todo cuando... claro que aquí también en Cajamarca ha sido así fuerte, pero en Cajamarca el único que hubo más humillaciones, pero pérdidas de vida no.”

#29: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

“Poco a poco nos hemos dado cuenta de que, en realidad, no solo unos cuantos gobernantes han sido corruptos, o han sido comprados, sino también, todo lo que es salud, educación, el ejército...”

#30: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“esa gente no se puede nombrar hijos de Cajamarca! Se venderían por un plato de frijoles.”

#31: Pilar, 36, Celendín:

Pilar: “En el camino he ido superando varias cosas, no? Una eh... no considerar enemigo a nadie, simplemente opositores, porque cuando uno es opositor, puede cambiar con el tiempo, no? Porque dios también, o sea, puede sensibilizar corazones, y quizás hacerlos aliados, no? Entonces, o sea, y claro, y los que ahora vemos que son aliados pueden ser opositores, no? [...] Sabemos que nosotros no debemos confiar en absolutamente nadie. No meternos manos al fuego por nadie. Y seguir, seguir, que es lo más importante, seguir luchando, seguir resistiendo, pero claro, seguir preparándonos, no? Seguir capacitándonos para poder contrarrestar todo este, no?”

Inge: “Pero eso debe ser difícil, decimos, cuando no puedes confiar en nadie? Debe ser fuerte, no?”

Pilar: “Si, Porque... tú no puedes caminar libre por las calles, incluso hasta contestar una llamada tienes que tener mucho cuidado, por las amenazas, y un montón de cosas, o sea, tenemos que estar preparado porque muchos veces, este, te sorprenden, y tú contestas, y no sabes quién te está grabando. Entonces todo eso... o sea, hay que tener cuidado, hasta en la casa que tú estás, no? Para abrir tu puerta tienes que estar observando que nadie está cerca de ti, porque un empujó, y te encierran. Entonces, puede pasar de todo, y claro, eso implica también no asistir a eventos públicos, eh... a ver con quien compartes una copa, o con quien compartes uno plato de comida, o sea, la seguridad es bastante... personal... y claro, la única seguridad que tienes, como te digo, es en tu persona, no?, y además porque tú no sabes quién se puede convertir en opositor, no?”

#32: Marilou, 41, Celendín:

¿Cómo es diferente Cajamarca? Tenemos la mayoría de los habitantes rurales del país, esto es porque... nos hace diferente, y que otras personas no nos entiendan. La mayoría vivimos de la agricultura y la ganadería ”

#33: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“Los de la ciudad decían, ‘ah, los indios de allá’”

#34: Eva, 54, Cajamarca:

“Siempre había problemas con esa división, de la ciudad y el campo. Pero, Conga nos ha unido, formó como un lenguaje de igualdad.”

#35: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Entonces miles y miles de campesinos vinieron aquí, a protestar por el agua, y Cajamarca entera se solidarizaba con ellos. Porque sabemos que también ellos han hecho la lucha, han venido de sus pueblos muy lejanos para... para enfrentar aquí, una paralización en algún sentido, y nosotros en Cajamarca también, los que en realidad, que casi la mayoría nos hemos ido.”

#36: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“Y es admirable, es... despierte a nosotros una gran solidaridad, ver a la gente más humilde, sacrificando su vida, su salud, sus familias... y haciéndolo que han hecho. Que es duro, arriba solo debajo de un plástico... oh dios. Horrible. Y si lo llovía... yo me quedé una noche, sobre el plástico, y abajo corría el agua, y era horrible y fue la noche más larga, no había la hora de amanezca, y decía ‘yo no estoy aguantando una nochita, y esta gente está aquí, y son humildes, mírales. Son gente muy pobre... que tenían solo un pedazo de tierra y de ahí sacan algo, para sobrevivir. Pero ellos son que están sacrificando’.”

#37: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

“La gente se dedicaba más a la agricultura, a la ganadería, entonces, la gente vivía mejor, lo que, que todo el mundo decía ‘vamos’, era tipo mingas, que iban y... mingas se lo llaman a donde, por ejemplo una persona, siembre a sus papas, y entonces, esa persona va a sacar sus papas, y va a hacer la cosecha, entonces dice, llama a todos los vecinos que le ayuden, y van todos. [...] Y eso siempre, a todos los vecinos ”

#38: Pilar, 36, Celendín:

“Ya no es como antes, no?, que antes los vecinos colaboraban, y seguían a cortar y apoyaban, no? [...] Ya no quieren, o sea, ya no hay ni... antes, nosotros trabajaron, por ejemplo había una saca de papa, todos querían hacer mingas, no? Mingas es que todos querían sacar papa. Entonces no, ahora ya no hay.”

#39: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“no es como... esa,... esa hermandad que había antes... por las mismas, las mismas costumbres, por la misma minga... las mingas que se hacía, las trabajos en común, tú tenías su confianza, todos te conocían, trabajas juntos. Cómo que ahora se ha vuelto un poco más individualista.”

#40: Pilar, 36, Celendín:

“Honestamente ha cambiado para mal. No ha cambiado para bien, porque, la gente se ha dividido. Se ha dividido precisamente por intereses en grande, por el tema de la minería, y también por la política oportunista, no? [...] las que están... decimos adormeciéndose en alguna parte a la gente, y por otro lado... que te digo, corrompiendo, no? corrompiendo, y con este plantando... muchas plagas, muchos vicios extranjeros que... que eso lo hace al ser humano menos justo, menos humano mismo, no?”

#41: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

“Y como es ahora, la mano de obra ha subido – alguien ya... te cobran como una mina! [...] Tú dices ‘ven, ayúdame’, y las personas te cobran... 50 soles, no?, si, a mí me pagan así. Entonces, antes no era así, antes se iban y te apoyaban, porque en realidad era así, era manera de... de apoyarnos entre vecinos.”

#42: Elena, 29, Cajamarca:

Inge: Y qué piensas que la presencia de la mina significa para las generaciones futuras?

Elena: Que no. que no sirve. no?

Inge: Claro, puede ser. si por ejemplo si... si sí hubiera, cómo sería diferente al futuro de la ciudad, de los Niños? [...] Por ejemplo, piensas que tu vida sería peor, si sí estaba Conga?

Elena: Debe... claro que puede tener más trabajo, no? Pero... tienen trabajo, pero... se pueden ser borrachos... por la misma plata.

Inge: Ah, claro, porque hay más oportunidades...

Elena: Si. De comprarse todo lo que ellos quieren... y cuando tienes plata, compras, no? compras... ropa de marca, unos zapatos bonitos, y por eso los amigos van a tomar, pueden llevar a las cantinas.. [...] Y entonces, en eso, no me gusta. y no me gustaría, toda la vida. es mejor, que no tener mucho, y así te mides. y lo puedes corregir a tus hijos, que no hay que no hay, que acostumbrarlos. porque sí en casa tú tienes mucha plata, te pueden hacer comprar todo, qué comen carne, ya no comen el trigo que nosotros sembramos, las habas,....

Inge: Ah, quieren en cada día lo mejor decimos?

Elena: Si

Inge: Entonces piensas que con una vida más humilde sea mejor?

Elena : Si. si. eso.

#43: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

“...nace una pequeña nostalgia porque, se pierden esos valores, se pierden estos costumbres de nuestros ancestros”

Chapter 6

#44: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“decíamos, la... la escasez del agua afecta más a las mujeres, no hay agua, las pobres mujeres tienen que estar juntándolo, pocito agua que hay, haciendo modos para que alcance el agua, para que puedan cocinar, lavar, no?”

#45: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“a escasez de agua relaciona directamente con la presencia de la minería. [...] ¿Qué hace la ciudad? ¿Qué hacen las familias, cada casa? Los varones salen a trabajar. Quien tiene que preocuparse para poner... hacer los alimentos, lavar la ropa, para los servicios básicos... las mujeres. Porque tradicionalmente son las mujeres que se ocupan de las actividades domésticas. Ella tiene que verlo, ella sufre por el agua pues. Y como las mujeres en los hogares son las que ven la economía familiar por ejemplo, ella sufre porque tiene que comprar agua, tiene que cargar el agua, algunas movilizan ahora en moto taxis, en taxis, están llevándose. Yo le digo eso porque tengo mi hermano [...] me llama y dice ‘¿hermana tienes agua allí?’ ‘sí’ ‘entonces ya viene la Elsa’ – Elsa es mi cunada. Viene la Elsa porque Elsa lleva el agua, llega en taxi, y se llena dos batones de agua y se lleva. [...] Por ahí las mujeres, siempre las mujeres, parece. O sea que la afectación, sí. Afecta más a las mujeres que los varones. En detalles así. Pero es que la calidad de vida se da por detalles así. No son las cosas grandes; mire, el mercado, la bolsa de valores, eso no nos importa, eso no es nuestro cotidiano.

#46: Mariela, 36, Bambamarca:

“Somos nosotras que estamos en contacto con el agua, más las mujeres. Estamos más en contacto con la contaminación, una mujer lleva todo. Sabemos de dónde viene el agua, trabajamos con la tierra, tenemos que darles comida a nuestras hijos, nuestros esposos.”

#47: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

“Si se enferma un niño, dicen que es nuestra culpa. ¿Por qué no lo hicimos mejor?”

#48: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

“Yo, mi familia, son de ahí, yo también, entonces, por eso es que... y con el habíamos discutido varias veces cuando él me decía ‘no, pero Conga debe ir,’ le digo ‘no, tal vez

tu... tu no lo sientes porque tú no sabes, no sientes este nostalgia cuando vas al campo y ves a los cerros, como se van deteriorando poco a poco, como tú ves... y te vas un año después y ese cerro desapareció.' Y entonces... o había bastante agua, y te vas unos años después, ya no hay..."

#49: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

"Si han cambiado las montañas, y todos, se ven rojo. Ya no hay, ya no producen nada. Ahí ya no produce nada, y ni los pájaros, ni las aves, nada. Entonces... que vamos a hacer, un cerro... Aquí es la minera ya, cuando es más chato, ya no hay puntos, ya. Para aquí no hay minera. Aquí es la minería, aquí es la minería [...] O sea, aquí, que ya no hay vegetación, ya no hay nada. Verde, y ya no hay nada, todo es de unos colores así de... así... te voy a jugar aquí. Porque mira, yo he visto, cuando he estado por arriba, unos colores así, anaranjados. Colores anaranjados, colores así, medio anaranjados, ya no hay verde aquí. Ya no hay verde aquí. Solamente es esto, anaranjados, otros colores más negros, nada, pero... vamos a diferente sierra, cuando nosotros, como... por ejemplo en estos cerros todavía hay así verdito, así ver... hay verde."

#50: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

"Me indigno cuando fui para Bambamarca, Hualgayoc... oh, como está todo! Todo seco, todo, todo lo han removido, [...] los cerros pelado. Todos los cerros que están en... Yanacocha. [...] Imagínate, aquí esta... todo seco, son cerros pero... todo seco, todo, todo removido, todo, todo. [...] Y era un tremendo cerro, que ya los, todos los dieron vuelta, todo, todo, todo, todo."

#51: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

"los cerros, antes de Yanacocha, eran así, punto agudito[...] allá, eran todas puntas aguditas mira, y toda esa parte ya está... ese es la minería Yanacocha. Y estaban sacándose aquí, allá, y hasta allá también."

#52: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

"Entonces... antes, por ejemplo, a nosotros era imposible... 'esto cerro aquí, lo va a mover,' decíamos, no?, no teníamos idea de que el cerro se va a mover, y que se vaya a ir a otro sitio."

#53: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“Por ejemplo los cerros están ... por acá, de repente, así, no? Cerritos. Ahora, estos cerros, se han, así se han relegados para acá. [...] o sea, increíble cuando vamos, decimos ‘y este cerro, que había, que pasó?’ ‘ya no está, ya está en otro lado, pero ya... ya no es natural.”

#54: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

Laura: “Aquí como era antes, más o menos... esta era una laguna, por la forma, se llamó ‘pato’. Hermosa. Otra laguna – corazón. Estas, y muchas más, ahora están así: un hueco gigante. No hay nada. No hay nada, nada.”

Inge: “¿Esta es la mina?”

Laura: “Sí. Aquí... por algunos costaditos hay agua así. De este color. Por otros lados, así.”

Inge: “¿Rojo?”

Laura: “Sí, rojo, verde.”

Inge: “¿Lo ha visto?”

Laura: “Sí.”

#55: Beatriz, 65, Bambamarca:

Beatriz: “... tenemos dos ríos, [...] y ha perdido, que yo en mi niñez, lo conocía aguas limpias, aguas cristalinas. Y... años después vinieron las aguas de color amarillo, de color medio verde, plomo... y lo cual ya nos ha preocupado, hemos empezado nuestras luchas.”

Inge: “Y aquí, ¿qué pasa?”

Beatriz: “Antes, verdecito. Y aquí es el maíz, que algo voy a dar su forma de cómo está ahora. [...] Las tierras producían mucho más: papas, esos son plantas de papas, antes, es todo verdecita, todo es bonita, ¿no? Y ahora en la actualidad, esto es cebada, y esto es maíz, que presenta unas manchitas amarillas, casi color del agua que está en el río [redacted], y ese color se hace la avena, cebada, arveja que sembramos, aparecen de estos colores así, de este color, y antes no lo había. Y dicen que es de la... de las minas.”

Inge: “De la contaminación”

Beatriz: “Sí. Al maíz así se presentan las hojitas, amarillas.”

#56: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“de por ahí a los 3, 4 metros tenían agua, [...] ya... hace 2-3 años atrás, me decían ‘fíjese, ahora tenemos que escavar, 20-15-10 metros, que ya no hay agua, parece que está bajándose el agua’. Entonces, también sabemos, creemos y estamos seguros de que... hasta el agua de subsuelo está acabándose. No? [...] Eso agua traiga a la mina para hacer su actividad minera, pero para la población bien difícil.”

#57: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“A ver, a Conga y lo hermoso que es... y para eso, es una montaña, Conga significa que tiene agua por todos lados [...] sé que Conga es, Conga es donde hay agua por todos los lados.”

#58: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“A ver, como voy a creer yo esto? Los dos extremos – este verde, todo tu topas, tocas, y se camina, o como te caminas en... en agua, cómo es? El colchón acuífero. Mas aquí hay... hay este, como se llama... todo aquí, bofedales, los bofedales son buen lindo. Es un cerro que da agua para todo, y está alimentando al río, el río... y todo se va a contaminar aquí, se va a contaminar.”

#59: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

“Antes solo nos curábamos con agua. [...] Mama, ¿qué hacía? Tres días nos daba solamente agua. Y nos curábamos. [...] decía mi mama, - ¿porque comen tanto? Ahí mismo, tres días con agua.’ Y nos... saludaba. Nos limpiaba el organismo. Y no necesitábamos ninguna medicamento. Ahora en cambio, sin medicamento ya no vivimos.”

#60: Alejandra, 52, Bambamarca:

“Se secan esas manantiales de agua, secan sus... que nunca se secan, se secan, ¿por qué? Porque ya no tiene su vida, ya no tiene su mantención en la tierra.”

#61: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Entonces aquí, hay muchas lagunas, lo voy a pintar con negro los lagos que están seco ya... negro, ya no hay. Hay por ejemplo la laguna Corazón. [...] Ya no tiene agua ya. Laguna corazón, laguna Yanacocha también. [...] El caudal es pocito. Pero este es donde hay la minería. Aquí viene el agua [...] y aquí está el reservorio Milagro, es

tratado, ya con muchos químicos. Por eso que yo quiero que me entiendas – que aquí, este es reservorio Milagro, es un gran reservorio así donde lo tratan al agua. Le meten, hacen cloro – aquí vamos a poner, cloro – cloro, arsénico, no sé qué será, para clarificar el agua. [...] Aquí es agua tratada, con cloro, con diferentes cosas... entonces, de aquí, ya viene a la ciudad de Cajamarca. Pero estos ríos son... casi, ya puede... contaminados. Contaminados.”

#62: Beatriz, 65, Bambamarca:

“Pero nosotros nos vamos a defender, si no nos escuchan estas mineras, de... retirarse, y dejar en paz a nuestra tierra, porque es el agua. que... diremos, todos ser viviente – humano, animal, vegetal... y también la tierra, que es la madre tierra, que nos alimenta, a todos, y esta tierra ya queda contaminada ya, ahorita ya están diferente los sembrados. Hay muchas enfermedades en las comidas, muchas enfermedades en los animales, y muchas enfermedades también en las personas, lo cual es producto de esto ya... se están investigando que los niños y cuantos humanos, también adultos, con plomo en la sangre, esto han estudiado.”

#63: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“...ahora me contaban, en, por ejemplo,... por el campo dicen ‘ahora se mueren los animalitos, porque no hay pasta’ - o, que pasara, el pasto se envenena, pero, ya muera, ya no se crece como antes, nos dicen así, no?”

#64: Luz, 66, Bambamarca:

“Entonces, no solamente nos estamos envenenando afuera, sino dentro de la casa.”

#65: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Hay pasta, hay árboles... hay arbolitos, todo eso hay [...] lo que me refiero es que hay vida. Hay arbolitos. Ya, entonces... ¡aves también! También hay. Por ejemplo, aquí hay aves. Un pajarito no sé dibujar. Pero más o menos así. Esos son avecitas que vienen por el campo [...] Ahí hay unos ríos... hay casitas, hay casitas, hay vida, hay vida, hay casitas... sus casitas... hay casitas aquí, al lado del río, hay varias casitas. Bien. Y por aquí todo es verde también, esto es verde, pero donde no hay minería. Donde hay minería es terrible, porque no hay nada.”

#66: Eva, 54, Cajamarca:

"Este lugar sigue... natural, está vivo. Nosotras venimos de una experiencia triste: todo lo que vemos en Cajamarca es muerte, muerte".

#67: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

Sandra: "Aquí lo vamos a hacer un sol, con sus ojitos, con su bocita. Y con sus orejas."

Inge: "Orejas también!" [both laugh]

Sandra: "Entonces el sol que nos da vida... tiene que estar presente en toda nuestras actividades. El sol es lo que nos da vida, no? Pero que lamentable que aquí en las tierras ya no da nada, aquí ya no va, esto son sitios... sitios muertos que ya nunca van a poder este... dar vida. Vegetal, ya no, estos terrenos son ya, como se llaman... ya son... muertes, que no producen nada. Con negro, no más. Pero tiene otro nombre, estos lugares que ya no sirven, o sea ya no... terrenos que... que ya no producen. restituible ... irrecuperables! Irrecuperables son."

Inge: "Ah, sí. Es que nunca más pueden..."

Sandra: "Irrecuperables, sí. La minería, eso es la minería."

#68: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

"ahora no tenemos esa libertad. No podemos ir a donde queremos, porque ya ahora donde tiene dueño – de Yanacocha. Todo Yanacocha, todo Goldfields, de las empresas transnacionales [...] En cambio, antes nosotros podíamos ir por donde a nosotros nos ocurría. [...] Entonces, ya no tenemos esta libertad en nuestra propia tierra"

#69: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

"En impactos negativos [de la mina] – la flora, la fauna, el ecosistema en general, y sobre todo pues... el agua. La contaminación del medioambiente, desaparición o extinción de algunas especies, como ya te mencioné los sapitos, y algunas aves que... que también... yo me acuerdo... un año, de pequeña fui a una laguna, que ahí había un montón de avecitas, montón, un montón. Y entonces, estuve ahí, parece... patitos, patitos los llamaban. Y hace algunos años fuimos, y dijeron, pues, no, los señores de Yanacocha dijeron: 'y algunas veces hay patitos que vienen a nadar'. ¡Algunas veces, no! Porque cuando yo fui en años pasados, ahí vivían constantemente esas avecitas, esos patitos. Y con lo cual ahora ya no están pues."

#70: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“Ni tampoco crecen los árboles. Porque antes había bastante lluvia también, eh? Eh... llovía, llovía, llovía, bastante lluvia, y la vegetación era más verde, no? Teníamos vegetación más verde... no? Teníamos, de repente, mas animalitos, no?”

#71: Mariela, 36, Bambamarca:

“La lluvia es la base... el agua es el mantención de la persona. Los animales, las plantas.”

#72: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“Ahora sabemos que ya no es la naturaleza, la que rige si llueve o no llueve, sino realmente las empresas transnacionales porque botan bombas, botan químicos, ¿y por qué? Nosotros decimos, ¿pero por qué? ¿Por maldad? No. No solo por maldad. Sino que a ellos le interrumpa la lluvia, para que trabajen. Entonces, no les conviene. No solo ahuyentan a las lluvias, del aire, de las nubes, sino también dañan, gastan, y desaparecen las aguas del suelo, manantiales, que nunca se secaron, ahora ya no están. Eso nos ha perjudicado a nosotros totalmente, y seguirán si nosotros decaemos, si nosotros no seguimos luchando.”

#73: Valeria, 50, Cajamarca:

“Lo que están haciendo es destruir la creación...por ejemplo en Hualgayoc [...] Se trajeron abajo toda la laguna, la gente empezó a pensar que dios nos había castigado. Dejo empezó a dejar de llover, o llovía cuando no debía llover... empezaron los microclimas, empezaron las enfermedades, de toda clase de enfermedades.”

#74: Emma, 63, Celendín:

“Por eso es que nosotros por ejemplo no queremos que entre Conga. Porque los venenos son fatales, le... el movimiento de tierras es brutal, entonces, que futuro queremos dejar a nuestros..., mira como estamos con este sec... con estas... lluvias, terrible [...] y eso se debe a lo que se manipulan la naturaleza. El señor nos ha puesto una naturaleza, pero, nosotros como guardianes, no como destructores. No? Entonces tiene que conservar.”

#75: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“...sabemos que nosotros somos parte de la naturaleza, el medioambiente. Y no somos los dominadores, como... no. Porque, si, la media que nosotros matamos la naturaleza, también estamos matando a nosotros. Entonces, tenemos que trabajar, o sea estar juntos, con ellos, ser, somos, algo más de la naturaleza, no que seamos los dominantes.”

#76: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“Porque la contaminación de la mina es fuerte [...] creo que el hombre no tiene respeto por la naturaleza, es cuando ahora sufrimos los estragos, los estragos de lo que estamos viviendo ahora, los huaicos, y las cosas... [...] devastador, y quien es culpable, no? El hombre. Porque no tienen respeto para la naturaleza. Y es cuando la naturaleza diga hoy, ‘ya basta,’ [...] es una forma también de protestar de la naturaleza. Entonces yo creo que hay demuestras [...] Yo pienso que los temblores, pienso que la... el cambia climático, todo lo hemos producido, todos, los hombres. Por... por todo esto, no? La destrucción de la tierra.”

#77: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

“entonces, como que... en menos en mi casa, de mi familia... si... lo sentimos, nos sentimos campesinos, y sentimos que si nos afecta la minería [...] Como nosotras somos de la zona, sabemos en realidad que impactos genera. [...] Las personas a veces, que no son de aquí, ¡como en su caso! ... que no son de aquí, a veces... no él, no, pero igual, dicen ‘no, campesinos ignorantes’ – los minimizan, los insultan... que no saben, que la minería debe ir si o si, que Conga debe ir [...] Pero en realidad la gente en la zona si vive... si se ve afectado cuando no hay agua.”

#78: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“...hace mucho tiempo he tenido una invitación ‘vamos arriba, a ver la laguna’, [Redacted] siempre decía ‘si no...’ como se llama? ‘Si no conocemos, no lo podemos defender’.”

#79: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“‘Muéstrénnos sus documentos, que existió un río aquí’, ‘muéstrénnos sus documentos, que aquí existía vida en el agua’, ‘nosotros lo hemos encontrado sucio – ustedes lo han contaminado, nosotros no!’”

#80: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“ya podemos decir: ‘miren, esto hubo en mi río’ – así, con mis documentos – ‘hubo estos tipos de animalitos’. Antes que íbamos a poder, ni podíamos ni hablar el nombre de la tricoptera, de la ephemeroptera, de la plecoptera ... nos parecía tan difícil, que se nos ocurrió ponernos a nosotros los nombres... por ejemplo, yo soy ephemeroptera. Y le digo, me puse el nombre, porque es un animalito... que purifique el agua, y tiene tres colitas, y se convierte en una mariposa. Y sale. Aprendimos que, en el agua, hay animales que son... ingenieros y arquitectos. Pero son animalitos que nosotros, a simple vista no nos hubiésemos podido ver. O si los hubiésemos visto por casualidad no nos hubiese importado. Pero en cambio ahora sí, ya sabemos que ellos son indicadores de que el agua es limpia, de que el agua es buena. Y si ya no hay... hasta el mismo olor, el mismo color del agua, ya conocemos nosotros.”

#81: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

“se monitorea ahora las aguas, entonces como se comprueba, de que el agua se baja en sus... ya no tiene mucha calidad, porque ya... ya no tiene los microorganismos que, que indiquen que son aguas limpias y saludables, y de que Cushunga es otro tipo de agua.”

#82: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“Pero por ejemplo ahora, la gente ya no se admira, ya es como... una se acostumbrara a que haya muertes, asesinatos, que va a ver una señora promiscua por la calle.”

#83: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“... muchos que han trabajado directamente para la mina, han tenido muchas posibilidades, han comprado carros, han comprado casas, y han comprado muchas cosas buenas en sus casas, ¿no? En Cajamarca no sabía nunca un hombre así, de mediana... de mediana... de la sociedad de término medio. No tenían carro, no tenían ni bicicleta, pero ahora con el entre de la mina, se compraron carros. Se compraban carros, se compraban motos, se compraban muchas cosas – casas especialmente.”

#84: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“También parte de la cultura también ha desaparecido. Ellos han destruido, por ejemplo, restos arqueológicos. A la parte de arriba, de Yanacocha. Que han hecho? Han

escavado. han traído, digamos, arqueológicos, profesionales, han tomado fotos, han descubierto eso. Acá! Chévere, está en un libro. Pero ya no hay. entonces, yo le digo, De qué me sirve tener un libro? diciendo que aquí existía la cultura... eh, pre-inca, la cultura Caxamarca [...] si al final solamente lo tengo en libro? Me voy en físico, ya no hay! [...] decían, 'no, si, en Cajamarca hemos comprado terreno, vamos hacer una... una...' iban a supuestamente ellos a hacer hace 7 años, iban a hacer un... un museo. De todo que ellos han destruido arriba."

#85: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

"Si, Cajamarca era pequeña, mira, si tú te das cuenta, abajo... el colegio santa Teresita, toda esa parte, para atrás era... se veía las vacas pasando por ahí, pero ya no, mira, cuanta casa por los cerros, todo... [...] Muchas casas, ha crecido la población, demasiado. [...] Hace veinte años atrás era pequeña, más reducido, mas... y ahora ya pues, hay tanta gente."

#86: Valeria, 50, Cajamarca:

"ya todo empastado, ya no tenemos ese sabor tan agradable que se siente caminar descalzos, y sentir el pastito fresco en los pies – es tan agradable."

#87: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

"Beneficios nada. Esa carretera que han construido, es porque pasan por ahí sus carros. A dejar todo lo que necesitan – es para ellos."

Chapter 7

#88: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

Inge: "Como sería su vida si habrá más minería aquí?"

Camila: "yo... yo pienso.. que si seguimos permitiendo que se expanda la minería acá, y se vuelve un distrito minero, porque eso es lo que quieren, que seguía el distrito minero, si he visto que sería tres veces más que la ciudad de Cajamarca. Entonces yo creo que ya no habría futuro para un Cajamarca. No. Aunque digan, 'si vamos a respetar', nada, tampoco, porque no se podría vivir aquí. O si vivimos, vamos a vivir a pesar de que cualquier momento vamos a morir. No? Por... por parte de la naturaleza, no?... por tanta contaminación. Porque... no, no había forma de vivir acá. Cajamarca se desaparecía."

#89: Emma, 63, Celendín:

Inge: "Y qué piensa usted que... si la mina se va a abrir, que significara esto para las generaciones futuras?"

Emma: "La desgracia. Porque pues, ellos se van, lo dejan, digamos, envenenadas a nuestras tierras, no, y sobre todo de... con el mercurio que es tan delicado, que son metales, es decir es, es el fin del mundo para mí, sencillamente. Y para muchos, muchas personas que tenemos sensibilidad, no? Es el fin del mundo, sencillamente. Si. un caos, no? Un caos brutal, terrible, sin precedencia en la historia. Del mundo. Así está, [...] sencillamente se tiene que defender, aquí el mundo entero se tiene que levantar, porque, en realidad, Conga pues, es una corona. No? Que discurre el agua por el lado, digamos, eh... este, y por el oeste. Y por el este se va por el atlántico, y por el oeste se va al pacifico. Entonces los aguas se avenenan, y el veneno... da vuelta, y el mundo entero esta, entonces, yo diría que aquí estamos por el fin del mundo."

#90: Natalia, 37, Cajamarca:

Inge: "A ver. Entonces, que es su opinión sobre todo que, la minería?"

Natalia: "Yo pienso que si no existía, es que, porque, Cajamarca ha sido una zona agrícola. Entonces, la gente ha vivido, bien, no?, se han podría decir esto."

#91: Natalia, 37, Cajamarca:

"Pero cuando empezaron las empresas mineras, como que hubo un estatus más alto, no? La gente empezó a ganar más, entonces, las cosas se fueron mejorando, y la gente

se acostumbró a eso. Y por ejemplo, por eso es que se han venido varias empresas, como es este... el quinde, porque, había movimiento económico, aquí en Cajamarca. Habido, con las empresas minera.”

#92: Natalia

Inge: “Piensa usted que, por el hecho de que ahora no esta conga, muchos...”

Natalia: “Sí, exacto, muchos sin trabajo. Claro, también es un tema ambiental, porque... por ese tema lo han cerrado conga. Por el tema ambiental. Que fueron las lagunas, la contaminación... y todo eso. Es muy importante también en la salud, no?, Pero yo creo que si hay unos buenos geólogos, hay buenos, este, ambientalistas, yo creo que... y con, y trabajando con responsabilidad, [...] trabajando todo colos de la ley, o sea, ellos se queda, van a cuidar el medioambiente, todo eso, no?”

#93: Natalia, 37, Cajamarca:

Inge: “Y si Yanacocha por ejemplo ha traído contaminación –”

Natalia: “Si ha traído contaminación. Sí, porque el ambiente, el agua, incluso, ya no es la misma, ya. Ya no es la misma. Ahora... el agua tiene que ser hervida, o tiene que ser de botella, tiene que ser purificada... y, y yo cuando era niña, yo he tomado del grifo, agua, así, directo, y nunca me he hecho mal. Y ahora, si tú haces eso, resultas con alergia, resultas con un montón de cosas, un montón de cosas. Entonces, si ha cambiado bastante. Ahora, claro, con mis hijas, yo estoy ‘cuidando que no tomen agua del cano!’ por ejemplo, no? Y antes no había esos cuidados acá. No había. Si trae.”

#94: Natalia, 37, Cajamarca:

Natalia: Por ejemplo había más ríos, no? Mas ríos... y más áreas verde había, y ahora no mucho. Por ejemplo, [...] más vaquitas [...] Menos casas, porque... porque... había más áreas verdes que casas encontrabas... [...] Están acá las... todas las casas, pues, no?, Júntense así. Todo acá junto. [...] No, así, ya menos árboles, menos es... menos áreas verdes. Bueno, Cajamarca todavía se está rescatando, eh? Que hay otros lugares, que ya... no hay nada, casi nada de áreas verdes.”

Inge: “Donde, por ejemplo?”

Natalia: “Por ejemplo donde... en donde... en Pasco, por ahí por ejemplo. Ahí eso, eso dicen que también pasara en Cajamarca, porque dicen que... toda esta falda, es oro. Entonces... están proyectándose, a comprar todo nuestras tierras, y movernos.

Inge: “Eso no le preocupa..?”

Natalia: “Eso me preocupa, si! Pero digo, ya, si me dan un, una mansión en Lima, Trujillo, ya... me voy. Porque igual, si, preocupa lo que es la contaminación, no? Preocupe bastante, los bebés se hacen mal. Es este... si, es feo la contaminación.”

Inge: “Y, usted, es que... parece más importante, como, que... acá hay trabajo, o que eso de la contaminación –”

Natalia: “Bueno, en realidad, los mismos mineros... se cuidan bastante, ellos toman agua limpia, no? Incluso hasta su agua, de donde se bañan, dicen que no es... la misma agua que ellos utilizan, o... la que viene acá, a la... ellos mismos se cuidan, las que más sufrimos son los de acá, de la ciudad. Los de la ciudad. Mas. Bueno, que ellos también mismo se contaminan, porque están ahí, no? Pero creo que es más fuerte para nosotros.”

Inge: “Y para usted parece mejor que Conga ya no está, o sería mejor...”

Natalia: “Para mí, tiene sus... sus... sus pros y sus contras, no? Porque, 1. Va a ver trabajo. Va a ver movimiento. Otro es el tema de la contaminación. Pero yo creo que eso se manejaba. A mi si... particularmente me afecta que no haya, porque, falta de trabajo, pues, falta de trabajo. Y nos afecta a todos, eh? A todos las... empresas, a todo lo afecta. A todos.”

#95: Natalia, 37, Cajamarca:

“Entonces, el, en venganza, empezó a mover gente... para que no vaya conga, porque sabía que era un proyecto grande. Y... y como les metió ahí el, la buja, fue porque, por la contaminación, pues, porque como son 3-4 lagunas, que prácticamente iban a ser reservorios, entonces por ahí, la gente se opuso bastante, pues. Porque dicen que esas lagunas también les da agua a ellas. A las zonas de, por allá.”

#96: Sofía, 27, Cajamarca:

“Yo creo que si la minería tal vez podría ir pero... debe todo... recordarse se podría decir, trabajarse un poco más en el ámbito social, trabajar eh... con las comunidades, y tal vez... buscar otras zonas que no sean precisamente en cabeceras de cuenca.”

#97: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Siempre cuando el dinero de minera se queda aquí en Cajamarca [...] porque si la plata se queda en Cajamarca, aquí serían obras [...] yo sería la primera de decir ‘que vengan a Cajamarca a hacer obras’, porque Cajamarca da muchas cosas al mundo! Salen de aquí un montón de cosas al extranjero [...] ¿Y? ¿Que regresa a Cajamarca? Nada, no

tenemos ninguna recompensa, de nada, aquí necesitamos un, muchas, muchas obras comunales. El bien de todos. Pero no hay. Hace mucho tiempo el estado se ha obligado de hacer colegios, de hacer postas medias, de hacer... ¡aquí ya estamos como si estuviéramos en otro país! Yo me siento así.”

#98: Sandra, 58, Cajamarca:

“Por ejemplo la leche,... que sale en grandes tanques a la... al Chiclayo para transformarlos en... en productos lácteos [...] Entonces, a Cajamarca nos falta eso, pero no sé porque las autoridades, el gobierno, especialmente el gobierno central, se descuida mucho de nuestro pueblo, porque aquí en esta ciudad debería haber una transformadora de leche. Ya no llevar hasta Chiclayo, sino aquí, transformar la leche y, hacer quizás más mano de obra, producir mejores productos lácteos, con la misma gente de Cajamarca. Pero de Cajamarca, sacan la materia prima, por ejemplo la leche, para transformarla en leche Gloria, sacan el café [...] y nos traen nuestro mismo café, mezclado con otras sustancias, entonces... Cajamarca produce mucho... materias primas.”

#99: Pilar, 36, Celendín:

“Con la leche, solamente hay un comprador, entonces es la Gloria que dice el precio, no? [...] y con su precio ... están explotándose a nuestra gente.”

#100: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“Yo no estoy anti-minera, yo creo, o sea, que debería darse minería, como... donde corresponde, y de la forma, y que la gente, que... las transnacionales les paguen. Caro. Que utilicen lo último media, no sé, y que no contaminen – y menos que contaminen el agua. O sea, creo que... sacarse un pocito, aunque es difícil, que sea la mina más responsable, pero sacar un poco, y dejar tiempo a que la naturaleza se renueve, o... o se... cambie, no sé. Pero no es sacar, sacar, sacar, sacar. Se van y dejan todo, pues, a ver, ¡no nos dejan nada! Imagínase, ¿cómo pueden? A mi ese me da mucho cólera – mucho cólera.”

#101: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“Ellos quieren todo ganar! Todos quieren a su bolsillo porque si... hicieran sofisticadamente, usaran otro producto que no sea el cianuro, entonces...”

#102: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“Ellos deben ser un poco más conscientes y consecuentes, y pensar en la salud de la humanidad. Pero en Lima, pues, ¡ellos! [...] Tienen que ser responsables, una minería responsable, que trate este, todos componentes químicos, sofisticados y que piensan en la población. No piensen en sus ganancias.”

#103: Marilou, 41, Celendín:

“Hace pocito yo he escuchado por las noticias del ministro de energía y mina que ha dicho ‘Perú es minero, y será minero’, así. Entonces, eso. [...] digo que ‘no’. Hay otras cosas.”

#104: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“...y eso mire, no dependíamos de la mina, de los grandes sueldos que algunos Cajamarquinos pueden haber conseguido ahora, pero de eso me permitió a mi familia que nos hicieren profesionales, o sea, que si se puede.”

#105: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“Ya no creo que la mina le traiga desarrollo a Cajamarca [...] quiero que nos den la oportunidad de probar que Cajamarca puede vivir, y vivirá bien sin la minería.”

#106: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“... se puede abrir a nuevas posibilidades de economía, como por ejemplo la tecnificación de agricultura, ya no se puede hacer la agricultura de hace 30 años, se tiene que tecnificar: la misma ganadería, la industrialización de sus productos agrícolas, si Cajamarca puede ser una ciudad industrializada, pero no industrializada por la minería. Sino industrializada de lo que tenemos aquí, los productos lácteos... ¡los quesos de Cajamarca salen en camiones! Se puede industrializar lo que tengamos aquí”

#107: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“De esas tres, aunque sea, una debería haber aquí. Pero no tenemos nada! Nada.”

#108: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“¿Quién en el extranjero quiere un producto que tenga riesgo de tener contaminantes mineros? Nadie quiere. Cuando por desgracia alguien encuentra que los quesos que salen de Cajamarca tienen algún... residuo contaminante, ¡ay dios este lechero!”

#109: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“A mí también no me gusta mucho que dependamos de afuera. Si hay, aquí hay recurso. Hay recurso humano, hay recurso... de todo pues.”

#110: Laura, 50, Cajamarca:

“... ahora, la desesperación de tanto problema, la gente hasta se suicida. Hay muchachos, jovencitos, señores, señoras, ... ahora hasta niños se suicidan. Y digo: ¿eso es normal? No puede ser normal, jamás. ¿Eso es el desarrollo? ¿Ese es el adelanto que nos traen? [...] En vez de adelantar, todo se ha venido abajo.”

#111: Stefanie, 56, Celendín:

“que no queremos el progreso, ... Que no queremos el desarrollo. Yo quiero desarrollo, pero no quiero... como lo hay ahora – ¿a costa de qué? ¿Qué desarrollo hay? Nunca vamos hacer nosotros país desarrollado, así como vamos, no vamos a ser, ¡porque la educación! ¿Como esta? ¿La salud? El trabajo, a ver, ¿qué beneficios tienen los trabajadores? Si cada vez les van quitando más sus derechos. Y mientras no se respeta la persona, no va a ver desarrollo, no va a ver.”

#112: Valeria, 50, Cajamarca:

“... hemos visto, cuando estábamos en la protesta, vino el Reina de Cerro de Pasco, si, ¿conoces? Una linda mujer. Pero que dijo, que nos impresionaba con su video que traje, dijo ‘Mire, este es Cerro de Pasco, este es el desarrollo que quieren para Cajamarca, esto, esto es...’ que me dijo, ‘los animalitos muriendo, los cerros sin nada de producción, ni vegetal, ni animal, ni nada, todo desiertos,’ entonces, dijimos que no queremos quedar como ese pueblo, ¿no? [...] [están] abandonados.”

#113: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“Pienso que ya, dicen que la esclavitud, se terminó. antes los incas fueron los esclavos de los españoles; eso ya ha cambiado. Yo lo veo que no ha cambiado. Porque aparentemente somos libres. Per...o el poder económico te hace que? Te hace estar igual como esclavo.”

#114: Marilou, 41, Celendín:

"Conocemos el capitalismo, el capitalismo.... ya lo hemos visto. Y en otros lugares funciona igual, pero tal vez la gente no lo vea. Pero acá, hemos visto cómo el estado que nos cobra impuestos, que debería protegernos, cómo nos mata. Cómo nos... marginan y minimizan. Y te sientes como si fueras nada".

#115: Eva, 54, Cajamarca:

"Luchamos por una vida digna, libre de los poderes económicos. ¿Qué sugeriremos por alternativa? Tenemos que estar capaces de decir '¿qué viene después?'

#116: Elizabeth, 42, Celendín:

"Las minas llegaron hace veinte años, y eso impulsó a la idea de... que pudiéramos salir de la pobreza, y desarrollar la región de Cajamarca. Que tuvimos que sacar todo lo que es metal, que el agua no importa. Ahora, la gente se ha levantado, los campesinos dicen: 'no, no queremos este modelo, la minería trae riqueza a pocos, pobreza a muchos... eh... por el agua, la contaminación, y la destrucción'. Queremos desarrollo en otra forma. Tenemos que hacerlo que... que se pueda desarrollar esto. Pero dicen: 'entonces, ¿por qué no creas desarrollo, no puedes hacerlo?' No pasará de un día a otro. Lo que necesitamos es... son cambios más profundos [...] como una constitución nueva, y un gobierno que se ponga detrás de algo así."

#117: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

La mayoría ya estamos convencidas de que el capitalismo nos dejará con contaminación y sin recursos. Políticamente, ya veíamos que hay los candidatos para el agua y la vida, y los otros para el oro. Tenemos que atacar todo este sistema, totalmente, pero para lograr eso, tendremos que cambiar algunas de nuestras costumbres y no queremos vivir sin las comodidades.

#118: Emma, 63, Celendín:

"Ese concepto de desarrollo ya no significa nada acá. Es muy tarde en el Perú. Las manantiales ya están destruidas..., entonces, ¿con qué van a desarrollar más proyectos? ¿Cuál es la alternativa? Ya hemos dejado que se destruya todo esto".

#119: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“Yo pienso de que la minera no trae ni desarrollo. Y yo pienso que hay otros tipos de desarrollo. Porque no invertir en trabajar en la agricultura, hacer los canales para los verduras. Porque? La agricultura, o sea, no sea una ganancia como de la minería, será menos, pero [...] Y mira, yo prefiero de que, mi pueblo sigue en la pobreza, o sea, hablando pobreza así, porque... todos dicen ‘los del campo son pobres’ – no son las pobres. Porque no hay un día en que nos dejamos sin comer. Lo que sembramos, comemos, entonces no somos pobres ... no tendremos dinero, pero tenemos que comer. Entonces, a eso voy... o sea de que, acá te acostumbran a que... acá sabes que el dinero es el principal, porque si no, no puedes comer. Es verdad, estas en la ciudad.”

#120: Ana, 42, Cajamarca:

“Acaso ahora dicen, ‘ah, que ha bajado, estamos en recesión, no hay trabajo,’ ¿acaso los cajamarquinos están muriendo de hambre? No habrá, siguen haciendo sus edificios y sus tremendas juergas, pero hay para vivir. Y soy de la opinión de que el ser humano no necesite estar acumulando, acumulando. Necesita para vivir.

#121: Clara, 48, Cajamarca:

“...somos pobres no por lo que tenemos, sino por el modo de pensar.”

#122: Pilar, 36, Celendín:

“El mundo ya es diferente, hay nuevas modas de ‘ser’, pero todavía ya no hablamos de Buen Vivir en Cajamarca. Tendríamos que discutir qué significa para nosotros, por ejemplo, respeto por la naturaleza, la solidaridad. Si tenemos planes alternativos de desarrollo, aunque no son nuevas, se trata de lo que hemos dejado atrás. Tenemos que hacer planes, no solamente es decir ‘Conga no va’. No hacerlo también es apoyarle a la minería.”

#123: Luz, 66, Bambamarca:

“Es nuestra lenguaje original. Acá como idioma principal que tú debes aprender lo tienen el inglés, inglés, y ni siquiera hablan nuestra lenguaje.”

#124: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“Y ahí los padres, lo han desaparecido el Quechua acá por vergüenza. Porque creían que... era un idioma que no... no va con la con lo que... con la sociedad, entonces, cómo

eran discriminados, ellos preferían que sus hijos no hablen Quechua. Yo te lo digo sinceramente, de una de esas persona es mi abuelita. Mi abuelita es en Quechua. Pero ella no, o sea, ella.... es... que nosotros seamos discriminados como ellos, o sea, abusitados como ellos, ha preferido que nos aprendamos español.”

#125: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“Si no hubiera existido... Yo no sé cómo hubiera sido nuestra vida,’ le digo a la persona, ‘sí quién sabe, con la forma de vivir de los Incas, hubiera sido mejor. El trueca, tú me das esta... este jugo y yo te puedo dar un kilo de papas. sería mejor.”

#126: Luisa, 45, Cajamarca:

“Si tanto han tenido los incas, yo hubiera preferido quedarme de inca. Claro! ama sua, ama llulla, ama quella – no seas ladrón, no seas mentiroso, y no seas perezoso.”

#127: Redacted public speaker:

“Hay muchos que no quieren decirlo, que... ‘somos indígenos’, pero se trata de nuestros ancestros. En los últimos años, se ha reclamado en estos conflictos, y ya... podemos elegir qué modo de vida seguimos.”

#128: Redacted public speaker:

“En Cajamarca, las Rondas son una fuerza importante. ¿Cómo nos identificamos, queremos nombrarnos indígenas? La palabra tiene un sentimiento negativo, pero si somos hijos de pueblos pre-hispánicos. El estado tendría que darnos estos derechos que... si nos nombramos ‘pueblos originales’. Si seguimos decir, diciendo que... somos mestizos, el estado no nos va a dar esos derechos. Hemos decidido que somos campesinos, como creemos decir "indio" es despectivo. Pero mientras los pueblos originales recibían sus derechos, Fujimori abrió la compuerta a las transnacionales, lo que era duro para Cajamarca.”

#129: Pilar, 36, Celendín:

“Elegimos la flora y la fauna, y por eso, la cultura. [...] No importa si estamos a la izquierda o a la derecha, tenemos que luchar, dejarles seguir es tan peligroso.”

#130: Julia, 62, Cajamarca:

Inge: “Y usted piensa que sería buena si por ejemplo, sus niños, sus nietos, podrían vivir como usted, o como sus padres antes?”

Julia: “Si. Yo pienso que sí, sería bonito, no? Porque ahora mucha gente vive estresada por... la preocupación que, a veces ... no tienen trabajo, o a veces el trabajo también te absorba mucho, no? [...] Entonces ya no se vive con esa tranquilidad, demasiado, no? Pero... hay cosas que no lo podemos solucionar [laughing]. Que tiene que salir adelante, pero también tendremos que buscar estrategias, de cómo vivir, no? A mi si me gustaría que... mi nietos, mis hijos, continúen, conservando, así, no? [creyendo] a su tierra, conservando su cultura, este... tener la comunicación con la gente, sirviendo al pueblo, no? Y que no solamente ellos se sirven de pueblo, sino también que el pueblo se sirve de ellos como personas, como individuos, como profesionales, no? Si.”

#131: Camila, 35, Cajamarca:

“Si es que no los padres... puedan enseñar nuevamente al hijo... esos valores, porque los padres mismos empiezan hacer un trabajo que se hacía antes, se pueda recuperar [...] Porque yo a mi hij[x], por ejemplo, yo... yo pienso que mi hij[x] debe saber de dónde viene.”

Appendix V: Glossary and Acronyms

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Apu</i> | Spirit of the mountain |
| Buen Vivir | 'Living well'; according to indigenous cosmovisions |
| Cajamarquina | Woman from Cajamarca |
| Cajamarquino | Man from Cajamarca |
| Carnaval | Three day celebration preceding lent |
| Campo | The countryside |
| Campesina | Woman from the countryside. Ethnic/class descriptor |
| Campesino | Man from the countryside. Ethnic/class descriptor |
| Combi | Minivan used for public transport |
| Compañero | Term used to refer to friends, classmates, colleagues, comrades, other members of social movements,... |
| Conga | Unrealized mining project by Minera Yanacocha |
| Fujimorismo | Political ideology of former Peruvian president Fujimori |
| Goldfields | An open-pit mining site in Hualgayoc Province |
| Guardianes de las lagunas | 'Guardians of the Lakes'; local people's vigilance committees of lakes under threat by mining |
| Hacienda | Large estate |
| Indio | 'Indian', derogative term for inhabitants of the highlands |
| Mestiza | Woman of both European and indigenous descent |
| Mestizaje | Process of a population becoming mestizo |
| Mestizo | Man of both European and indigenous descent |
| Minga | Collective work |
| Moto | Three-wheeled vehicle used for local transport |
| Ni Una Menos | Collective name of much present-day Latin American feminist action |
| Pachamama | Mother Earth |
| Plaza de armas | Central square |
| Pueblos Originales | Indigenous peoples |
| Rondas Campesinas (Rondas) | Peasant rounds/patrols, a campesino movements |
| Rondas Femininas | Women's rounds |
| Rondas Urbanas | Urban rounds/patrols |
| Rondera | Woman who is member of a Ronda |
| Rondero | Man who is member of a Ronda |
| Sendero Luminoso (Sendero) | 'Shining path', Maoist guerilla movement |
| Senderista | Member of Sendero Luminoso |
| Tierra | Land, earth, place of home |
| Yanacocha | Operating open-pit mine of Minera Yanacocha |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |

| | |
|-----|-------------------------------|
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
|-----|-------------------------------|

Bibliography

- Abah, B., & Alagoa, M. (2010). The oil industry's impacts on the daily lives of women in the Niger delta: Featuring the Voices of Women from the Imiringi and Ikarama Communities. In International Women and Mining Network/Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería (Ed.), *Women from mining affected communities speak out - Defending Land, Life & Dignity*. . Samata, India.
- Acosta, A. (2013). Extractivism and neoextractivism: two sides of the same curse. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Aguinaga, M., Lang, M., Mokrani, D., & Santillana, A. (2013). Development Critiques and Alternatives: A Feminist Perspective. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond Development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Ahmad, N., & Lahiri-Dutt, K. (2006). Engendering Mining Communities Examining the Missing Gender Concerns in Coal Mining Displacement and Rehabilitation in India. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 10(3), 313-339.
- Akabzaa, T., & Darimani, A. (2001). Impact of mining sector investment in Ghana: A study of the Tarkwa mining region. *Third World Network*.
- Akcil, A., & Koldas, S. (2006). Acid Mine Drainage (AMD): causes, treatment and case studies. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 14(12-13), 1139-1145. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2004.09.006>
- Alesina, A., & Rodrik, D. (1994). Distributive politics and economic growth. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 109(2), 465-490.
- Allen, C. J. (1981). To be Quechua: The symbolism of coca chewing in highland Peru. *American Ethnologist*, 8(1), 157-171.
- Allende, A. Z. (2016). Central hidroeléctrica chadín 2: luchas por el territorio en el Perú.
- Andina. (2017). Peru: Extreme poverty down to 3.8% in 2016. *Andina: Agencia Peruana de Noticias*.
- Andina. (2018, 27.04.2018). Peru: Yanacocha to extend Cajamarca mining operations until 2027. *Andina*.
- Andolina, R., Radcliffe, S., & Laurie, N. (2005). Development and culture: Transnational identity making in Bolivia. *Political Geography*, 24(6), 678-702.
- Anguelovski, I., & Martínez-Alier, J. (2014). The 'Environmentalism of the Poor'revisited: Territory and place in disconnected glocal struggles. *Ecological Economics*, 102, 167-176.
- Araujo de Almeida, R. (2013). Inclusive cartography: theoretical and applied issues in Brazil. In D. R. F. Tayler & T. P. Lauriault (Eds.), *Developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: applications and indigenous mapping* (2 ed.): Elsevier.
- Arellano-Yanguas, J. (2011). Aggravating the resource curse: Decentralisation, mining and conflict in Peru. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 47(4), 617-638.
- Arteaga, M. S. R. (2015). Las Rondas Urbanas de Cajamarca. *Derecho y Cambio Social*, 12(42), 4.
- Asadullah, M. N., & Chaudhury, N. (2012). Subjective well-being and relative poverty in rural Bangladesh. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 33(5), 940-950.
- Atkinson, R. (1998). *The life story interview*: Sage.
- Ausina, S. F., Blanes, J. P., & Aristizábal, A. B. (2016). La Agencia de las mujeres en el conflicto minero de Conga como ejercicio para la ampliación de capacidades. Estudio de caso en Cajamarca, Perú. In: Recuperado de: http://www.uhu.es/IICIED/pdf/9_2_conflic.pdf.

- Auty, R. (1993). *Sustaining development in mineral economies: the resource curse thesis*. London: Routledge.
- Bacchiddu, G. (2004). Stepping between different worlds: reflections before, during and after fieldwork. *Anthropology Matters*, 6(2).
- Bakker, K. (2007). The Commons Versus the Commodity: Alter-globalization, Anti-privatization and the Human Right to Water in the Global South. *Antipode*, 39(3), 430-455. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00534.x
- Ballard, C., & Banks, G. (2003). Resource wars: the anthropology of mining. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 287-313.
- Barry, C. (2002). Identity/identities and fieldwork: studying homeopathy and Tai Chi'at home'in South London. *Anthropology Matters*, 4(1).
- BBC News. (2017, 15.12.2017). Odebrecht case: Politicians worldwide suspected in bribery scandal. *BBC News*.
- Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and Capabilities: A Framework for Analyzing Peasant Viability, Rural Livelihoods and Poverty. *World Development*, 27(12), 2021-2044. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(99\)00104-7](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(99)00104-7)
- Bebbington, A. (2004). Livelihood transitions, place transformations: grounding globalization and modernity. *Latin America transformed: Globalization and modernity*, 173-192.
- Bebbington, A. (2015). Political ecologies of resource extraction: Agendas pendientes. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, 85-98.
- Bebbington, A., Bornschlegl, T., & Johnson, A. (2013). Political Economies of Extractive Industry: From Documenting Complexity to Informing Current Debates. *Development and change*. doi:10.1111/dech.12057
- Bebbington, A., & Bury, J. (2009). Institutional challenges for mining and sustainability in Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 106(41), 17296-17301.
- Bebbington, A., Humphreys-Bebbington, D., Bury, J., Lingan, J., Muñoz, J., & Scurrah, M. (2008). Mining and social movements: struggles over livelihood and rural territorial development in the Andes. *World Development*, 36(12), 2888-2905.
- Becerril, M. S. W. (2018). Mining Conflicts in Peru: Civil Resistance and Corporate Counterinsurgency.
- Benson, K., & Nagar, R. (2006). Collaboration as resistance? Reconsidering the processes, products, and possibilities of feminist oral history and ethnography. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 13(5), 581-592.
- Bhanumathi, K. (2002). The status of women affected by mining in India. In I. Macdonald & C. Rowland (Eds.), *Tunnel vision: Women, mining and communities* (pp. 20-25). Victoria, Australia: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.
- Bidegain Ponte, N. (2014). Gender, Economic, and Ecological Justice Demands in Latin America: Toward an Interlinked Frame for Collective Action. *Latin American Policy*, 5(2), 319-330.
- Bird, K. (2011). Life history interviewing: practical exercise. In (Vol. Briefing note 4): Chronic Poverty Research Centre.
- Bobel, C. (2007). 'I'm not an activist, though I've done a lot of it': Doing Activism, Being Activist and the 'Perfect Standard'in a Contemporary Movement. *Social movement studies*, 6(2), 147-159.
- Boelens, R. (2014). Cultural politics and the hydrosocial cycle: Water, power and identity in the Andean highlands. *Geoforum*, 57, 234-247.
- Bondi, L. (2003). Empathy and Identification: Conceptual Resources for Feminist Fieldwork. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 2(1).
- Bowen, S. (2010). Embedding local places in global spaces: geographical indications as a territorial development strategy. *Rural Sociology*, 75(2), 209-243.

- Boyd, S. (2016). Peruvian elections: for the Right or the Right? *New Internationalist*.
- Brain, K. A. (2017). The impacts of mining on livelihoods in the Andes: a critical overview. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 4(2), 410-418.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2014). What can "thematic analysis" offer health and wellbeing researchers? *International journal of qualitative studies on health and well-being*, 9.
- Bridge, G. (2004). Mapping the Bonanza: Geographies of Mining Investment in an Era of Neoliberal Reform. *The Professional Geographer*, 56(3), 406-421. doi:10.1111/j.0033-0124.2004.05603009.x
- Browne, K. (2003). Negotiations and Fieldworkings: Friendship and Feminist Research ACME: *An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 2(2).
- Brunnschweiler, C. N., & Bulte, E. H. (2008). The resource curse revisited and revised: A tale of paradoxes and red herrings. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 55(3), 248-264. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jeem.2007.08.004>
- Burman, A. (2011). Chachawarmi: Silence and rival voices on decolonisation and gender politics in Andean Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 43(1), 65-91.
- Bury, J. (2002). Livelihoods, mining and peasant protests in the Peruvian Andes. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 1(1), 1-19.
- Bury, J. (2004). Livelihoods in Transition: Transnational Gold Mining Operations and Local Change in Cajamarca, Peru. *The Geographical Journal*, 170(1), 78-91. doi:10.2307/3451330
- Bury, J. (2005). Mining mountains: neoliberalism, land tenure, livelihoods, and the new Peruvian mining industry in Cajamarca. *Environment and planning A*, 37(2), 221-239.
- Bury, J. (2007). Mining migrants: Transnational mining and migration patterns in the Peruvian Andes*. *The Professional Geographer*, 59(3), 378-389.
- Byford, J. (2002). One day rich: community perceptions of the impact of the Placer Dome gold mine, Misima Island, Papua New Guinea. In.
- Cabezas, A. (2014). Transnational Feminist Networks Building Regions in Latin America. *Latin American Policy*, 5(2), 207-220.
- Carino, J. (2002). Women and mining in the Cordillera and the International Women and Mining Network. In I. Macdonald & C. Rowland (Eds.), *Tunnel Vision: Mining and Communities Forum*. Victoria, Australia: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.
- Cartwright, W. (2013). Further developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: exploring web 2.0 and participatory software for building geolocated narratives. In D. R. F. Tayler & T. P. Lauriault (Eds.), *Developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: applications and indigenous mapping* (2 ed.): Elsevier.
- Cepek, M. L. (2016). There might be blood: Oil, humility, and the cosmopolitics of a Cofán petro-being. *American Ethnologist*, 43(4), 623-635.
- Cheshire, L. (2010). A corporate responsibility? The constitution of fly-in, fly-out mining companies as governance partners in remote, mine-affected localities. *Journal of rural studies*, 26(1), 12-20.
- Chinchay, M., & Cortijo, C. (2016). La más grande de la historia. *La República*.
- Clark, A. E., Frijters, P., & Shields, M. A. (2008). Relative income, happiness, and utility: An explanation for the Easterlin paradox and other puzzles. *Journal of Economic literature*, 46(1), 95-144.
- Cohen, A. (1985). *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London: Routledge.
- Confederación Nacional Agraria. (2018). Compañero Santos Saavedra Vásquez, presidente electo de la CUNARC Perú.

- Conger Lind, A. (1992). Power, Gender, and Development: Popular Women's Organizations and the Politics of Needs in Ecuador. In A. Escobar & S. Alvarez (Eds.), *The making of social movements in Latin America: Identity, strategy, and democracy*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Conservation Minnesota, Friends of the Boundary Waters Wilderness, & Advocacy, M. C. f. E. (2012). *Frequently Asked Questions about Sulfide Mining in Minnesota: A Mining Truth Report*. Retrieved from
- Corcoran-Nantes, Y. (1993). Female consciousness or feminist consciousness? In S. Radcliffe & S. Westwood (Eds.), *Women's Consciousness Raising in Community-Based Struggles in Brazil* in Radcliffe, Sarah and Westwood, Sallie (eds) 'Viva': *Women and Popular Protest in Latin America* London: London (pp. 136-155). London: Routledge.
- Corr, R. (2002). Reciprocity, communion, and sacrifice: food in andean ritual and social life. *Food and Foodways*, 10(1-2), 1-25.
- Cotterill, P. (1992). *Interviewing women: Issues of friendship, vulnerability, and power*. Paper presented at the Women's Studies International Forum.
- Coumans, C., & Kirsch, S. (2011). Occupying spaces created by conflict: anthropologists, development NGOs, responsible investment, and mining. *Current Anthropology*, 52(S3), S29-S43.
- Coxshall, W. (2010). "When They Came to Take Our Resources": Mining Conflicts in Peru and Their Complexity. *Social Analysis*, 54(1), 35-51.
- CPI. (2017). *Perú: Población 2017*. Retrieved from Lima, Peru:
- Crampton, J. W. (2009). Cartography: performative, participatory, political. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(6), 840-848.
- Craske, N. (1993). Women's political participation in colonias populares in Guadalajara, Mexico. In S. Radcliffe & S. Westwood (Eds.), *Viva: Women and popular protest in Latin America*. London: Routledge.
- Cronjé, F., Reyneke, S., & Wyk, D. v. (2013). Local communities and health disaster management in the mining sector. *Jàmbá: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies*, 5(2), 12.
- Cupples, J. (2002). The field as a landscape of desire: sex and sexuality in geographical fieldwork. *Area*, 382-390.
- Dajer, T. (2015). High in the Andes, A Mine Eats a 400-Year-Old City. *National Geographic*.
- de Acosta, A. (2007). Latino/a America: A Geophilosophy for Wanderers. In L. Mogel & A. Bhagat (Eds.), *An atlas of radical cartography*. Los Angeles, California: Journal of Aesthetics and Protest Press.
- De Echave, J. (2005). Peruvian peasants confront the mining industry. *Socialism and Democracy*, 19(3), 117-127.
- De la Cadena, M. (1992). Las mujeres son más indias. *Espejos y travesías*, 16, 25-46.
- De la Cadena, M. (1998). Silent racism and intellectual superiority in Peru. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 17(2), 143-164.
- De la Cadena, M. (2005). Are mestizos hybrids? The conceptual politics of Andean identities. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37(2), 259-284.
- De la Cadena, M. (2008). Alternative indigeneities: conceptual proposals.
- De la Cadena, M. (2010). Indigenous cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual reflections beyond "politics". *Cultural anthropology*, 25(2), 334-370.
- De la Cadena, M. (2015a). *Earth beings: Ecologies of practice across Andean worlds*: Duke University Press.
- De la Cadena, M. (2015b). Uncommoning nature. *E-Flux Journal 56th Biennale*.
- Deere, C. D. (1990). *Household and class relations: peasants and landlords in northern Peru*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

- Defensoría del Pueblo. (2019). *Reporte Mensual de Conflictos Sociales N° 180*. Retrieved from Lima, Peru:
- Delamont, S. (2004). Ethnography and participant observation. *Qualitative research practice*, 217-229.
- Desbiens, C., & Ruddick, S. (2006). Speaking of geography: language, power, and the spaces of Anglo-Saxon 'hegemony'. In: SAGE Publications Sage UK: London, England.
- DeVault, M. L. (1996). Talking back to sociology: Distinctive contributions of feminist methodology. *Annual review of sociology*, 29-50.
- DeWalt, K. M., DeWalt, B. R., & Wayland, C. B. (2010). Participant observation. In K. M. DeWalt & B. R. DeWalt (Eds.), *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Plymouth: Altamira Press.
- Diamond, J. (1999). Collision at Cajamarca. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, 67-81.
- Dominguez Gonzales, J. O. (2001). Optimización del carguio y acarreo por Zublin Chile caso minera Yanacocha.
- Donohoe, M. (2008). Flowers, diamonds, and gold: The destructive public health, human rights, and environmental consequences of symbols of love. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 30(1), 164-182.
- Dorrian, M., & Rose, G. (2003). *Deterritorialisations: Revisioning Landscape and Politics*: Black Dog Publishing.
- Downing, T. E. (2002). *Avoiding new poverty: mining-induced displacement and resettlement* (Vol. 52): International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Druc, I. (2011). Tradiciones alfareras del valle de Cajamarca y cuenca alta del Jequetepeque, Perú. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines*(40 (2)), 307-331.
- Dudka, S., & Adriano, D. C. (1997). Environmental impacts of metal ore mining and processing: A review. *Journal of Environmental Quality*, 26(3), 590.
- Dunn, K. C. (2001). Identity, space and the political economy of conflict in Central Africa. *Geopolitics*, 6(2), 51-78.
- Eftimie, A., Heller, K., & Strongman, J. (2009). *Gender Dimensions of the Extractive Industries: Mining for Equity*. Retrieved from
- Egerstrom, A. M. (2017). *International law and resource extraction: the reconstruction of indigenous identity in Cajamarca, Peru*.
- England, K. V. L. (1994). Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1).
- Escárzaga, F. (2001). Auge y caída de Sendero Luminoso. *Bajo el volcán*, 2(3).
- Escobar, A. (1992a). Culture, economics, and politics in Latin American social movements theory and research. In A. Escobar & S. Alvarez (Eds.), *The making of social movements in Latin America: Identity, strategy, and democracy*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Escobar, A. (1992b). Imagining a post-development era? Critical thought, development and social movements. *Social text*, 20-56.
- Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World*: Princeton University Press.
- Escobar, A. (2004). Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(1), 207-230.
- Escobar, A. (2006). Difference and Conflict in the Struggle Over Natural Resources: A political ecology framework. *Development*, 49(3), 6-13.
- Escobar, A. (2007). Worlds and knowledges otherwise: The Latin American modernity/coloniality research program. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 179-210.
- Escobar, A. (2008). *Territories of difference: place, movements, life*: Duke University Press.

- Escobar, A. (2010). Latin America at a crossroads: alternative modernizations, post-liberalism, or post-development? *Cultural Studies*, 24(1), 1-65.
- Escobar, A., & Alvarez, S. (1992). Theory and protest in Latin America today. In A. Escobar & S. Alvarez (Eds.), *The making of social movements in Latin America: Identity, strategy, and democracy*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Esteva, G., Babones, S. J., & Babicky, P. (2013). *The future of development: a radical manifesto*. Bristol, United Kingdom: Policy Press.
- Finch, J. (1984). It's great to have someone to talk to: the ethics and politics of interviewing women. In C. Bell & H. Roberts (Eds.), *Social Researching: politics, problems, practice*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fonkén, M. M. (2014). An introduction to the bofedales of the Peruvian High Andes. *Mires and Peat*, 15(5).
- Forstner, K. (2013). Women's Group-based Work and Rural Gender Relations in the Southern Peruvian Andes. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 32(1), 46-60. doi:10.1111/j.1470-9856.2011.00693.x
- Franceschet, S., Piscopo, J. M., & Thomas, G. (2016). Supermadres, Maternal Legacies and Women's Political Participation in Contemporary Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 48(1), 1-32.
- Franco, P. (2016). Project Conga: An Unresolved Social License. In A. Stachowicz-Stanusch (Ed.), *Corporate Social Performance In The Age Of Irresponsibility: Cross National Perspective* (pp. 209-236). Charlotte, USA: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Fraser, B. (2012). Indigenous Peoples of Peru March in Protest of Mines.
- Frayssinet, F. (2015). Rural Women in Latin America Define Their Own Kind of Feminism. *Inter Press Service*.
- Fuller, D. (1999). Part of the action, or 'going native'? Learning to cope with the 'politics of integration'. *Area*, 31(3), 221-227.
- Fumerton, M. (2001). Rondas Campesinas in the Peruvian Civil War: Peasant Self-defence Organisations in Ayacucho. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 20(4), 470-497.
- Galindo, A. F. (2010). *In search of an Inca: identity and utopia in the Andes*: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallaher, C. (1997). Identity politics and the religious right: hiding hate in the landscape. *Antipode*, 29(3), 256-277.
- García Guadilla, M.-P. (1993). Ecologia: women, environment and politics in Venezuela. In S. Radcliffe & S. Westwood (Eds.), *Viva: Women and popular protest in Latin America* (pp. 65-87). London: Routledge.
- Gasparini, G. (1995). On waiting. *Time & Society*, 4(1), 29-45.
- Geiger, S. (1990). What's so feminist about women's oral history? *Journal of Women's History*, 2(1), 169-182.
- Gifford, B., & Kestler, A. (2008). Toward a theory of local legitimacy by MNEs in developing nations: Newmont mining and health sustainable development in Peru. *Journal of International Management*, 14(4), 340-352.
- Gilbert, M. R. (1994). The Politics of Location: Doing Feminist Research at "Home"*. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 90-96.
- Gitlitz, J. S., & Rojas, T. (1983). Peasant vigilante committees in northern Peru. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 15(1), 163-197.
- Gluck, S. B., & Patai, D. (1991). Women's words: The feminist practice of oral history. In K. Borland (Ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Glynn, T., & JATAM. (2010). Reclaiming rights: The ongoing struggles of the Sorowako community, Indonesia. In International Women and Mining Network/Red Internacional

- Mujeres y Minería (RIMM) (Ed.), *Women from mining affected communities speak out - Defending Land, Life & Dignity*. Samata, India.
- Gudynas, E. (2011). Buen Vivir: Today's tomorrow. *Development*, 54(4), 441-447.
- Gudynas, E. (2013a). Debates on development and its alternatives in Latin America. A brief heterodox guide. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Gudynas, E. (2013b). Transitions to post-extractivism: directions, options, areas of action. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Guillemin, M., & Drew, S. (2010). Questions of process in participant-generated visual methodologies. *Visual studies*, 25(2), 175-188.
- Gustafson, P. (2001). Roots and routes: Exploring the relationship between place attachment and mobility. *Environment and behavior*, 33(5), 667-686.
- Häkli, J. (1999). Cultures of demarcation: Territory and national identity in Finland. *Nested identities: Nationalism, territory, and scale*, 22, 123-150.
- Hale, C. R. (1997). Cultural politics of identity in Latin America. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26(1), 567-590. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.26.1.567
- Hallizi, L. (2016). Rondas Campesinas en Defensa y Control del Territorio.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). On feminist methodology. *Sociology*, 26(2), 187-206.
- Hargreaves, S., & Hamilton, P. (undated-a). *Extractivism's Impacts on Women's Bodies, Sexuality and Autonomy*. Retrieved from
- Hargreaves, S., & Hamilton, P. (undated-b). *Women Miners: Navigating Difficult Terrain Underground*. Retrieved from
- Harris, O. (1989). The earth and the state: the sources and meanings of money in Northern Potosi, Bolivia. In J. PARRY & M. BLOCH (Eds.), *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (pp. 232-268). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, F. V. (2007). Feminist methodology as a tool for ethnographic inquiry on globalization. *The gender of globalization: women navigating cultural and economic marginalities*.
- Hart, G. (2001). Development critiques in the 1990s: culs de sac and promising paths. *Progress in Human Geography*, 25(4), 649-658.
- Harvey, P. (2010). Cementing relations: the materiality of roads and public spaces in provincial Peru. *Social Analysis*, 54(2), 28-46.
- Harvey, P. (2012). The topological quality of infrastructural relation: An ethnographic approach. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 29(4-5), 76-92.
- Hernández-Vásquez, A., Bendezú-Quispe, G., Díaz-Seijas, D., Santero, M., Minckas, N., Azañedo, D., & Antiporta, D. A. (2016). Análisis espacial del sobrepeso y la obesidad infantil en el Perú, 2014. *Revista Peruana de Medicina Experimental y Salud Pública*, 33, 489-497.
- Hernández Fernández, H. A. (2018). Institutional weakness in Peru. *Triarius* 32, Contents, 27.
- Hernandez, P. M. (2002). The myth of machismo: An everyday reality for Latin American women. *Thomas L. Rev.*, 15, 859.
- Herold, P., & Sanjur, D. (1986). Homes for the migrants: the pueblos juvenes of Lima--a study of socioeconomic determinants of child malnutrition. *Archivos latinoamericanos de nutrición*, 36(4), 599-624.
- Heuser, C. (2018). New President, Old Problems: Corruption and Organised Crime Keep Peru in Crisis.
- Hickey, S., & Bracking, S. (2005). Exploring the Politics of Chronic Poverty: From Representation to a Politics of Justice? *World Development*, 33(6), 851-865. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2004.09.012>
- Hill, C., & Newell, K. (2009). *Women, communities and mining: The gender impacts of mining and the role of gender impact assessment*. Retrieved from Oxfam Australia:

- Hill, D. (2016, 25/01/2016). Hitler Rojas - the Peruvian farmer killed for opposing a mega-dam? *The Guardian*.
- Himley, M. (2014). Mining history: mobilizing the past in struggles over mineral extraction in Peru. *Geographical review*, 104(2), 174-191.
- Hinojosa, L. (2013). Change in rural livelihoods in the Andes: do extractive industries make any difference? *Community Development Journal*, 48(3), 421-436.
- Hinton, J. J., Veigo, M. M., & Beinhoff, C. (2003). Women and artisanal mining: Gender roles and the road ahead. In G. M. Hilson (Ed.), *The socio-economic impacts of artisanal and small-scale mining in developing countries*.
- Holden, W. N., & Jacobson, R. D. (2007). Mining amid armed conflict: nonferrous metals mining in the Philippines. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien*, 51(4), 475-500.
- Houghton, D. S. (1993). Long-Distance Commuting: A New Approach to Mining in Australia. *The Geographical Journal*, 159(3), 281-290. doi:10.2307/3451278
- Hovorka, A., Zeeuw, H. d., & Njenga, M. (2009). *Women feeding cities: Mainstreaming gender in urban agriculture and food security*: Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation.
- Huisman, K. (2008). "Does This Mean You're Not Going to Come Visit Me Anymore?": An Inquiry into an Ethics of Reciprocity and Positionality in Feminist Ethnographic Research*. *Sociological Inquiry*, 78(3), 372-396.
- INEI. (2017). *Perú: Perfil Sociodemográfico. Informe Nacional*. Lima.
- INEI. (2018). *Resultados Definitivos de los Censos Nacionales 2017: Cajamarca*. Lima.
- Inokuchi, K. (1998). La cerámica de Kuntur Wasi y el problema Chavín. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*(2), 161-180.
- Institute for Applied Autonomy. (2007). Tactical Cartographies. In L. Mogel & A. Bhagat (Eds.), *An atlas of radical cartography*. Los Angeles, California: Journal of Aesthetics and Protest Press.
- Instituto Internacional de Derecho y Sociedad. (2017). Rondas Campesinas Discutieron Sobre Pluralismo Jurídico Igualitario en el XII Congreso Regional Rondero de Cajamarca [Press release]
- Isla, A. (2002). A struggle for clean water and livelihood: Canadian mining in Costa Rica in the era of globalization. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 21(4).
- Jelin, E. (1998). Toward a culture of participation and citizenship: challenges for a more equitable world. In S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, & A. Escobar (Eds.), *Cultures of politics, politics of cultures: Re-visioning Latin American social movements*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Jenkins, K. (2014a). Unearthing Women's Anti-Mining Activism in the Andes: Pachamama and the "Mad Old Women". *Antipode*, 47(2), 442-460. doi:10.1111/anti.12126
- Jenkins, K. (2014b). Women, mining and development: An emerging research agenda. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 1(2), 329-339.
- Jenkins, K. (2017). Women anti-mining activists' narratives of everyday resistance in the Andes: staying put and carrying on in Peru and Ecuador. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(10), 1441-1459.
- Jenkins, K., & Rondón, G. (2015). 'Eventually the mine will come': women anti-mining activists' everyday resilience in opposing resource extraction in the Andes. *Gender & Development*, 23(3), 415-431.
- Johnson, D. B., & Hallberg, K. B. (2005). Acid mine drainage remediation options: a review. *Science of the total environment*, 338(1), 3-14.
- Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). The Methodology of Participant Observation. In D. L. Jorgensen (Ed.), *Participant observation*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

- Kachika, T., & Hargreaves, S. (undated-a). *Land and Food Sovereignty Undermined: Impacts on Peasant Women*. Retrieved from Johannesburg, South Africa:
- Kachika, T., & Hargreaves, S. (undated-b). *A WoMin perspective on international and regional policy and human rights frameworks*. Retrieved from Johannesburg, South Africa:
- Kalluri, B., & Seema Mundoli, S. (2010). Protecting our lands: Adivasi women say No to bauxite mining In International Women and Mining Network/Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería (RIMM) (Ed.), *Women from mining affected communities speak out - Defending Land, Life & Dignity*. Samata, India.
- Kalluri, B., & Seema Mundoli, S. (2013). *Gender Equality and the Extractive Industry in the Lower Mekong Region*. Retrieved from India:
- Katz, E. (2003). The changing role of women in the rural economies of Latin America. In B. Davis (Ed.), *Current and emerging issues for economic analysis and policy research* (Vol. 1). Rome: Food and Agriculture Department of the United Nations.
- Kelly, L., Regan, L., & Burton, S. (1992). Defending the indefensible? Quantitative methods and feminist research. *Hilary Hinds, Ann Phoenix & Jackie Stacey (Eds.), Working out: New directions in women's studies*, 149-161.
- Kindon, S., Pain, R., & Kesby, M. (2007). Participatory action research: origins, approaches and methods. In S. Kindon, R. Pain, & M. Kesby (Eds.), *Participatory action research approaches and methods. Connecting people, participation and place* London: Routledge.
- Kitula, A. G. N. (2006). The environmental and socio-economic impacts of mining on local livelihoods in Tanzania: A case study of Geita District. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 14(3-4), 405-414. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2004.01.012>
- La República. (2019, 12.01.2019). Cajamarca: paralizan operaciones mineras porque dirigentes ingresaron ilegalmente a Quecher Main. *La República*.
- Lahiri-Dutt, K. (2012). Digging women: towards a new agenda for feminist critiques of mining. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 19(2), 193-212. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2011.572433
- Lalander, R. (2014). Rights of nature and the indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Ecuador: A Straitjacket for Progressive Development Politics? *Iberoamerican Journal of Development Studies*, 3(2), 148-173.
- Lall, S. V., Selod, H., & Shalizi, Z. (2006). *Rural-urban migration in developing countries: A survey of theoretical predictions and empirical findings*: The World Bank.
- Lander, E. (2013). Complementary and conflicting transformation projects in heterogeneous societies. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond Development: Alternative visions from Latin America* (pp. 87). Quito: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Landman, M. (2006). Getting quality in qualitative research: A short introduction to feminist methodology and methods. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 65(04), 429-433.
- Lang, M. (2013). Crisis of civilisation and challenges for the left. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Langdon, S. (2000). Peru's Yanacocha Gold Mine: The IFC's Midas Touch. *The Center for International Environmental Law: Washington, DC, September*.
- Larrain, J. (2000). *Identity and Modernity in Latin America*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Laureyns, M. (2014). *Het goud van de Maya's. Duurzaamheidsanalyse van de exploitatie van de Marlin mijn in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, West- Guatemala*. Universiteit Gent, Ghent, Belgium.
- Laurie, N. (2011). Gender Water Networks: Femininity and Masculinity in Water Politics in Bolivia. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(1), 172-188. doi:doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00962.x

- Laurie, N., Andolina, R., & Radcliffe, S. (2003). Indigenous professionalization: transnational social reproduction in the Andes. *Antipode*, 35(3), 463-491.
- Laurie, N., Dwyer, C., Holloway, S., & Smith, F. (1999). *Geographies of New Femininities*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Li, F. (2009a). Documenting accountability: environmental impact assessment in a Peruvian mining project. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 32(2), 218-236.
- Li, F. (2009b). Negotiating livelihoods: women, mining and water resources in Peru. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 27(1).
- Li, F. (2013). Relating divergent worlds: Mines, aquifers and sacred mountains in Peru. *Anthropologica*, 399-411.
- Lind, A. (2003). Feminist post-development thought: "Women in development" and the gendered paradoxes of survival in Bolivia. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 227-246.
- Lindemann, H. (2008). Feminist Bioethics: Where We've Been, Where We're Going. In L. Martín Alcoff & E. Feder Kittay (Eds.), *The Blackwell Guide to Feminist Philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Liu, L., Liu, J., & Zhang, Z. (2014). Environmental Justice and Sustainability Impact Assessment: In Search of Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts Caused by Coal Mining in Inner Mongolia, China. *Sustainability*, 6(12), 8756-8774.
- Loayza, J. (2012). Muertos en Cajamarca suben a 5, mientras la región vive en un clima de tensión. *La Republica*.
- Lowenthal, D. (1975). Past time, present place: landscape and memory. *Geographical review*, 1-36.
- Lozeva, S., & Marinova, D. (2010). Negotiating gender: Experience from Western Australian mining industry. *Journal of Economic & Social Policy*, 13(2), 123.
- Lust, J. (2014). Peru: Mining capital and social resistance. In H. Veltmeyer & J. Petras (Eds.), *The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism of the Twenty-First Century?* : Zed Books.
- Luttrell, W., & Chalfen, R. (2010). Lifting up voices of participatory visual research. *Visual studies*, 25(3), 197-200.
- Macdonald, I. (2002). Introduction: women's rights undermined. In I. Macdonald & C. Rowland (Eds.), *Tunnel vision: Women, mining and communities*. Victoria, Australia: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.
- Macintyre, M. (2002). Women and mining projects in Papua New Guinea: problems of consultation, representation, and women's rights as citizens. In I. Macdonald & C. Rowland (Eds.), *Tunnel vision: Women, mining and communities* (pp. 26-29). Victoria, Australia: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.
- Macintyre, M. (2011). Modernity, Gender and Mining: Experiences from Papua New Guinea. In K. Lahiri-Dutt (Ed.), *Gendering the field : towards sustainable livelihoods for mining in mining communities*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Mahy, P. (2011). Sex Work and Livelihoods: Beyond the 'Negative Impacts on Women'in Indonesian Mining. In K. Lahiri-Dutt (Ed.), *Gendering the field : towards sustainable livelihoods for mining in mining communities* (pp. 49). Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Martinez-Alier, J. (2012). Conga project: the end of the line?
- Martinez-Alier, J. (2014). The environmentalism of the poor. *Geoforum*, 54, 239-241.
- Mazadiego, L., Puche, O., & Hervás, A. (2009). Water and Inca cosmogony: myths, geology and engineering in the Peruvian Andes. *Geological Society, London, Special Publications*, 310(1), 17-24.
- McClintock, C. (1984). Why peasants rebel: The case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso. *World Politics*, 37(1), 48-84.
- McCormick, G. H. (1990). *The Shining Path and the future of Peru*. Retrieved from RAND:

- McCormick, G. H. (1992). *From the sierra to the cities: the urban campaign of the Shining Path*. Retrieved from RAND:
- McDowell, L. (1992). Doing gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British geographers*, 399-416.
- McIlwaine, C., & Datta, K. (2003). From feminising to engendering development. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10(4), 369-382.
- Medrano, M. (2014). Proyecto Conga en Perú, una política del imperialismo para desangrar a latinoamérica.
- Mee, K., & Wright, S. (2009). Geographies of belonging. In: SAGE Publications Sage UK: London, England.
- Mehlum, H., Moene, K., & Torvik, R. (2006). Institutions and the Resource Curse. *Economic Journal*, 116(508), 1-20. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0297.2006.01045.x
- Mendivil, J. (2016). Singing for Water, Singing Against Gold: Music and the Politics of Representation in the Peruvian Northern Andes. *Trans. Revista Transcultural de Música*(20).
- Mercier, L., & Gier, J. (2007). Reconsidering women and gender in mining. *History Compass*, 5(3), 995-1001.
- Millan Lombrana, L., & Quigley, J. (2018, 02/10/2018). Peru's Mining Investment Boom Leaves Political Woes Behind. *Bloomberg*.
- Ministerio de Energía y Minas. (Undated). Perú: País Minero.
- Misoczky, M. C. (2011). World visions in dispute in contemporary Latin America: development x harmonic life. *Organization*, 18(3), 345-363.
- Monjezi, M., Shahriar, K., Dehghani, H., & Namin, F. S. (2009). Environmental impact assessment of open pit mining in Iran. *Environmental geology*, 58(1), 205-216.
- Moore, J. N., & Luoma, S. N. (1990). Hazardous wastes from large-scale metal extraction. A case study. *Environmental science & technology*, 24(9), 1278-1285.
- Mudd, G. M. (2010). The Environmental sustainability of mining in Australia: key mega-trends and looming constraints. *Resources Policy*, 35(2), 98-115. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2009.12.001>
- Müller, M. (2007). What's in a word? Problematizing translation between languages. *Area*, 39(2), 206-213.
- Muradian, R., Martinez-Alier, J., & Correa, H. (2003). International capital versus local population: The environmental conflict of the Tambogrande mining project, Peru. *Society & Natural Resources*, 16(9), 775-792.
- Nadasdy, P. (2005). Transcending the debate over the ecologically noble Indian: Indigenous peoples and environmentalism. *Ethnohistory*, 52(2), 291-331.
- Nagar, R. (2002). Footloose researchers, 'traveling' theories, and the politics of transnational feminist praxis. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 9(2), 179-186.
- Narrei, S., & Osanloo, M. (2015). Optimum cut-off grade's calculation in open pit mines with regard to reducing the undesirable environmental impacts. *International Journal of Mining, Reclamation and Environment*, 29(3), 226-242.
- Nash, J. C. (1979). *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines*: Columbia University Press.
- Nelson, L., & Hiemstra, N. (2008). Latino immigrants and the renegotiation of place and belonging in small town America. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(3), 319-342.
- Newmont Mining Corporation. (2006). *2005 Annual Report*. Retrieved from Denver, Colorado:
- Newmont Mining Corporation. (2016). *Annual Report Pursuant to section 13 or 15(d) of the securities exchange act of 1934. For the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 2015*. Washington D.C.

- Newmont Mining Corporation. (2018a). Newmont Provides Updated 2019 and Longer-term Outlook [Press release]
- Newmont Mining Corporation. (2018b). Newmont Welcomes Sumitomo as Valued Partner at Yanacocha [Press release]
- Norgate, T., & Haque, N. (2010). Energy and greenhouse gas impacts of mining and mineral processing operations. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 18(3), 266-274. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2009.09.020>
- Norgate, T., Jahanshahi, S., & Rankin, W. J. (2007). Assessing the environmental impact of metal production processes. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 15(8-9), 838-848. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2006.06.018>
- Norman, D. A. (2009). THE WAY I SEE IT Memory is more important than actuality. *Interactions*, 16(2), 24-26.
- Núñez Palomino, G. (1996). The rise of the Rondas Campesinas in Peru. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 28(36), 111-123.
- O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Key concepts in ethnography*: Sage.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2011). Indigenous Women and Mining Agreement Negotiations: Australia and Canada. In K. Lahiri-Dutt (Ed.), *Gendering the field : towards sustainable livelihoods for mining in mining communities*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research*. London: Routledge.
- Olarte, C. (2014). Depoliticization and Criminalization of Social Protest through Economic Decisionism: the Colombian Case. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 4(1).
- Olesen, V. (2011). Feminist qualitative research in the millennium's first decade. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 129-146). London: SAGE.
- Orlove, B. S. (1993). Putting race in its place: order in colonial and postcolonial Peruvian geography. *Social Research*, 301-336.
- Packard, J. (2008). 'I'm gonna show you what it's really like out here': the power and limitation of participatory visual methods. *Visual studies*, 23(1), 63-77.
- Palmer, J., Pocock, C., & Burton, L. (2017). Waiting, power and time in ethnographic and community-based research. *Qualitative Research*, 1468794117728413.
- Paredes, M. (2007). *Fluid identities: Exploring ethnicity in Peru*: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.
- Paredes Peñafiel, A. P., & Li, F. (2017). Nourishing Relations: Controversy over the Conga Mining Project in Northern Peru. *Ethnos*, 1-20.
- Parmenter, J. (2011). Experiences of Indigenous Women in the Australian Mining Industry. In K. Lahiri-Dutt (Ed.), *Gendering the field : towards sustainable livelihoods for mining in mining communities*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Parpart, J. L. (1993). Who is the 'Other '?: A Postmodern Feminist Critique of Women and Development Theory and Practice. *Development and change*, 24(3), 439-464.
- Paulson, S. (2003). Gendered Practices and landscapes in the Andes: The shape of asymmetrical exchanges. *Human Organization*, 62(3), 242-254.
- Peru21, R. (2019, 17.03.2019). Un año con Vizcarra: el modelo manda, la popularidad no. *Peru21*.
- Pfaffenberger, B. (1988). Fetishised objects and humanised nature: towards an anthropology of technology. *Man*, 236-252.
- Piccoli, E. (2009). Las rondas campesinas y su reconocimiento estatal, dificultades y contradicciones de un encuentro: un enfoque antropológico sobre el caso de Cajamarca, Perú. *Nueva antropología*, 22(71), 93-113.

- Piccoli, E. (2014). Justicia local mixta en Cajamarca (Perú): análisis etnológico de un pluralismo práctico. *CUHSO· Cultura-Hombre-Sociedad*, 24(1), 55-80.
- Pollard, A. (2009). Field of screams: difficulty and ethnographic fieldwork. *Anthropology Matters*, 11(2).
- Prada, R. (2013). Buen Vivir as a model for state and economy. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Radcliffe, S. A. (1993). 'People have to rise up—Like the great women fighters': The state and peasant women in Peru. In S. Radcliffe & S. Westwood (Eds.), *Viva: Women and popular protest in Latin America*. London: Routledge.
- Radcliffe, S. A. (1994). (Representing) post-colonial women: authority, difference and feminisms. *Area*, 25-32.
- Radcliffe, S. A., Laurie, N., & Andolina, R. (2003). The transnationalization of gender and reimagining Andean indigenous development. *Signs*, 29(2).
- Raju, S. (2002). We are different, but can we talk? *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 9(2), 173-177.
- Rasch, E. D. (2012). Transformations in Citizenship: Local Resistance against Mining Projects in Huehuetenango (Guatemala). *Journal of Developing Societies*, 28(2), 159-184. doi:10.1177/0169796X12448756
- Razavi, S., & Miller, C. (1995). *From WID to GAD: Conceptual shifts in the women and development discourse* (Vol. 1): United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Geneva.
- Reinhard, J. (1985). Sacred mountains: An ethno-archaeological study of high Andean ruins. *Mountain Research and Development*, 299-317.
- RIMM. (2010). *Women from mining affected communities speak out - Defending Land, Life & Dignity*. Samata, India.
- Rishbeth, C., & Powell, M. (2013). Place attachment and memory: Landscapes of belonging as experienced post-migration. *Landscape Research*, 38(2), 160-178.
- Robb, G. A., & Robinson, J. D. F. (1995). Acid Drainage from Mines. *The Geographical Journal*, 161(1), 47-54. doi:10.2307/3059927
- Robinson, A. (2011). Giving Voice and Taking Pictures: Participatory Documentary and Visual Research. *People, Place & Policy Online*, 5(3), 115-134.
- Rocheleau, D., Thomas-Slayter, B., & Wangari, E. (1996). *Feminist Political Ecology: Global issues and local experiences*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Rodriguez, R. (2013). *Goldfield: Destruction of the City of Hualgayoc*. Paper presented at the University of Ghent, Belgium.
- Rondón, G. (2009). Canadian mining in Latin America: Corporate social responsibility and women's testimonies. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 27(1).
- Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 305-320.
- Rose, G. (2014). On the relation between 'visual research methods' and contemporary visual culture. *The Sociological Review*, 62(1), 24-46.
- Ross, M. L. (1999). The Political Economy of the Resource Curse. *World Politics*, 51(2), 297-322. doi:10.2307/25054077
- Rowe, W. W., & Schelling, V. (1991). *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*. London: Verso.
- Rubin, J. (1998). Ambiguity and contradiction in a radical popular movement. In S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, & A. Escobar (Eds.), *Cultures of politics, politics of cultures: Re-visioning Latin American social movements*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

- Ruiz, V. P. (2013). La guerra civil peruana de 1854. Los entresijos de una revolución. *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 70(1), 195-219.
- Sallnow, M. J. (1989). Precious metals in the Andean moral economy. In J. PARRY & M. BLOCH (Eds.), *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (pp. 209-231). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salomons, W. (1995). Environmental impact of metals derived from mining activities: Processes, predictions, prevention. *Journal of Geochemical Exploration*, 52(1-2), 5-23. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0375-6742\(94\)00039-E](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0375-6742(94)00039-E)
- Sanderson, E., & Newport, R. (2007). Participatory cartographies: reflections from research performances in Fiji and Tanzania. In S. Kindon, R. Pain, & M. Kesby (Eds.), *Participatory action research approaches and methods: connecting people, participation, and place*. London: Routledge.
- Sangster, J. (1994). Telling our stories: Feminist debates and the use of oral history. *Women's History Review*, 3(1), 5-28.
- Sarkisyanz, M. (1993). Lost Primeval Bliss as Re-revolutionary Expectation: Millennialism of Crisis in Peru and the Philippines. In S. A. Arjomand (Ed.), *The Political Dimensions of Religion*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Sarmiento, F. O. (2000). Breaking mountain paradigms: Ecological effects on human impacts in man-aged tropandean landscapes. *AMBIO: A Journal of the Human Environment*, 29(7), 423-431.
- Scanlon, J. (1993). *Challenging the imbalances of power in feminist oral history: Developing a take-and-give methodology*. Paper presented at the Women's Studies International Forum.
- Scannell, L., & Gifford, R. (2010). Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 30(1), 1-10.
- Schaedel, R. P. (1988). Andean world view: Hierarchy or reciprocity, regulation or control? *Current Anthropology*, 29(5), 768-775.
- Schein, R. H. (2009). Belonging through land/scape. *Environment and planning A*, 41(4), 811-826.
- Schild, V. (1998). New subjects of rights? Women's movements and the construction of citizenship in the "new democracies". In S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, & A. Escobar (Eds.), *Cultures of politics, politics of cultures: Re-visioning Latin American social movements*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Scott, J. (1986). Everyday forms of peasant resistance. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 13(2), 5-35.
- Seema Mundoli, S. (2011). 'Free Prior and Informed Consent': A Tool for Conflict Resolution for Adivasi Women Impacted by Mining Projects.
- Shadle, M. (2011). *Sacred Violence and Sacred Peacemaking: The Shining Path Insurgency in Peru, 1980-2000*. academia.edu.
- Sharp, J. (2005). Geography and gender: feminist methodologies in collaboration and in the field. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(3), 304-309.
- Sherbondy, J. (1998). *Andean irrigation in history*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Shevenell, L., Connors, K. A., & Henry, C. D. (1999). Controls on pit lake water quality at sixteen open-pit mines in Nevada. *Applied Geochemistry*, 14(5), 669-687.
- Silva-Macher, J. C., & Farrell, K. N. (2014). The flow/fund model of Conga: exploring the anatomy of environmental conflicts at the Andes–Amazon commodity frontier. *Environment, development and sustainability*, 16(3), 747-768.
- Simatauw, M. (2002). The polarisation of the people and the state on the interests of the political economy and women's struggle to defend their existence: A critique of mining policy in Indonesia. In I. Macdonald & C. Rowland (Eds.), *Tunnel vision: Women, mining and communities* (pp. 35-39). Victoria, Australia: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.

- Singh, S. (2007). Deconstructing 'gender and development' for 'identities of women'. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16(2), 100-109. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2397.2006.00454.x
- Smith, F. M. (1996). Problematising language: limitations and possibilities in 'foreign language' research. *Area*, 160-166.
- Smyth, D., & Whitehead, P. (2012). Reflections on researching and developing Indigenous livelihoods on country. *Charles Darwin University, Darwin. Google Scholar*.
- Söderholm, P., & Svahn, N. (2015). Mining, regional development and benefit-sharing in developed countries. *Resources Policy*, 45, 78-91.
- Sosa, I., & Keenan, K. (2001). *Impact benefit agreements between aboriginal communities and mining companies: Their use in Canada*: Canadian Environmental Law Association Ottawa.
- Sosa, M., & Zwartveen, M. (2012). Exploring the politics of water grabbing: The case of large mining operations in the Peruvian Andes. *Water Alternatives*, 5(2), 360-375.
- Sosulski, M. R., Buchanan, N. T., & Donnell, C. M. (2010). Life history and narrative analysis: Feminist methodologies contextualizing Black women's experiences with severe mental illness. *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare*, 37, 29.
- Staeheli, L. A., & Lawson, V. A. (1995). Feminism, praxis, and human geography. *Geographical Analysis*, 27(4), 321-338.
- Stahler-Sholk, R., Vanden, H. E., & Kuecker, G. D. (2007). Globalizing Resistance: The New Politics of Social Movements in Latin America. *Latin American Perspectives*, 5-16.
- Stanley, L., & Wise, S. (1983). *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Starn, O. (1991). *"Con los Llanques todo Barro": Reflexiones sobre Rondas Campesinas, Protesta Rural y Nuevos Movimientos Sociales*. Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Steel, G. (2013). Mining and tourism: urban transformations in the intermediate cities of Cajamarca and Cusco, Peru. *Latin American Perspectives*, 40(2), 237-249.
- Stensrud, A. B. (2016). Climate change, water practices and relational worlds in the Andes. *Ethnos*, 81(1), 75-98.
- Stephen, L. (1997). *Women and social movements in Latin America: Power from below*: University of Texas Press.
- Steps Without Border. (2010). In the name of survival: Mongolian herder women oppose mining companies. In International Women and Mining Network/Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería (RIMM) (Ed.), *Women from mining affected communities speak out - Defending Land, Life & Dignity*. Samata, India.
- Stratford, E. (2009). Belonging as a resource: the case of Ralphs Bay, Tasmania, and the local politics of place. *Environment and planning A*, 41(4), 796-810.
- Sullivan, L. (2013). Peru: Andean Self-determination Struggles against Extractive Capitalism *Upside Down World*.
- Sullivan, L. (2014). Getting to the Bottom of Extractive Capitalism: A Case Study of Open Pit Mining in Cajamarca, Peru. *Policy & Practice-A Development Education Review*(19).
- Sullivan, Z., & de Freitas Paes, C. (2019). Dam déjà vu: 2 Brazil mining waste disasters in 3 years raise alarms. *Mongabay: News and Inspiration from Nature's Frontline*.
- Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(3), 374-385.
- Suter, E. A. (2000). Focus groups in ethnography of communication: Expanding topics of inquiry beyond participant observation. *The Qualitative Report*, 5(1), 1-14.

- Svampa, M. (2013). Resource extractivism and alternatives: Latin American perspectives on development. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Tejada, C. T., Pérez, S. V., Cueva, N. H., & Cerquín, F. S. (2014). Tendencias del Perfil del Turista Nacional que Visita Cajamarca. *LOGOS*, 2(1).
- Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), 161-178.
- Terwindt, C. (2014). Criminalization of Social Protest: Future research. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 4(1).
- Theidon, K. (2006). Justice in transition: The micropolitics of reconciliation in postwar Peru. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(3), 433-457.
- Thomson, B. (2011). Pachakuti: indigenous perspectives, buen vivir, suma qawsay and degrowth. *Development*, 54(4), 448-454.
- Thwaites, K., & Simkins, I. (2007). Experiential landscape: revealing hidden dimensions of people-place relations. *Urban Sustainability Through Environmental Design: Approaches to Time-People-Place Responsive Urban Spaces*, 141.
- Tierney, W. G. (1999). Guest editor's introduction: Writing life's history. *Qualitative inquiry*, 5(3), 307-312.
- Trotz, D. A., & Peake, A. (1999). *Gender, Ethnicity, and Place: Women and Identities in Guyana*. London: Routledge.
- Trudeau, D. (2006). Politics of belonging in the construction of landscapes: place-making, boundary-drawing and exclusion. *Cultural geographies*, 13(3), 421-443.
- Tsing, A. L. (2000). Inside the economy of appearances. *Public Culture*, 12(1), 115-144.
- Urkidi, L. (2010). A glocal environmental movement against gold mining: Pascua-Lama in Chile. *Ecological Economics*, 70(2), 219-227.
- van der Ploeg, J. D. (2009). Catacaos: Repeasantization in Latin America. In *The new peasantries: struggles for autonomy and sustainability in an era of empire and globalization*: Routledge.
- van Geen, A., Bravo, C., Gil, V., Sherpa, S., & Jack, D. (2012). Lead exposure from soil in Peruvian mining towns: a national assessment supported by two contrasting examples. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 90, 878-886.
- Vasquez Peralta, C. (2012). *Estudio Hidrológico de la Region Cajamarca*. Gobierno Regional de Cajamarca.
- Vega, E. (2013). Decolonisation and dismantling patriarchy in order to 'live well'. In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundacion Rosa Luxemburg.
- Vela-Almeida, D., Kuijk, F., Wyseure, G., & Kosoy, N. (2016). Lessons from Yanacocha: assessing mining impacts on hydrological systems and water distribution in the Cajamarca region, Peru. *Water International*, 41(3), 426-446.
- Veltmeyer, H., & Petras, J. (2014). *The new extractivism: A post- neoliberal development model or imperialism of the 21st century?* London: Zed Books.
- Vergara-Camus, L. (2013). Rural Social Movements in Latin America: In the Eye of the Storm. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 13(4), 590-606.
- Villalba-Eguiluz, C. U., & Etxano, I. (2017). Buen Vivir vs development (II): the limits of (Neo-) Extractivism. *Ecological Economics*, 138, 1-11.
- Villalba, U. (2013). Buen Vivir vs Development: a paradigm shift in the Andes? *Third World Quarterly*, 34(8), 1427-1442.
- Wade, P. (2001). Racial identity and nationalism: a theoretical view from Latin America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(5), 845-865.

- Walsh, C. (2010). Development as Buen Vivir: Institutional arrangements and (de)colonial entanglements. *Development*, 53(1), 15-21. doi:10.1057/dev.2009.93
- Ward, B., Strongman, J., Eftimie, A., & Heller, K. (2011). Gender-Sensitive Approaches for the Extractive Industry in Peru: Improving the Impact on Women in Poverty and Their Families-Guide for Improving Practice.
- Watts, J. (2017, 01.06.2017). Operation Car Wash: Is this the biggest corruption scandal in history? *The Guardian*.
- Weber, S. (2018). Participatory Visual Research with Displaced Persons: 'Listening' to Post-conflict Experiences through the Visual. *Journal of Refugee Studies*.
- Wernke, S. A. (2007). Negotiating community and landscape in the Peruvian Andes: A transconquest view. *American Anthropologist*, 109(1), 130-152.
- Westwood, S., & Radcliffe, S. A. (1993). Gender, racism and the politics of identities in Latin America. In S. Westwood & S. A. Radcliffe (Eds.), *Viva: Women and popular protest in Latin America* (pp. 1-29). London: Routledge.
- Wikimedia Commons (Producer). (2010, 18/12/2018). Peru - Cajamarca Department (locator map).
- Wikimedia Commons (Producer). (2011, 18/12/2018). División Política de Cajamarca.
- Williams, P. R., & Nash, D. J. (2006). Sighting the apu: a GIS analysis of Wari imperialism and the worship of mountain peaks. *World Archaeology*, 38(3), 455-468.
- Yagenova, S. V., & Garcia, R. (2009). Indigenous people's struggles against transnational mining companies in Guatemala: The Sipakapa People vs Goldcorp Mining Company. *Socialism and Democracy*, 23(3), 157-166.
- Yashar, D. J. (1998). Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 23-42.
- Zanotti, L. (2013). Resistance and the politics of negotiation: Women, place and space among the Kayapó in Amazonia, Brazil. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 20(3), 346-362.
- Zubieta, R. (2014). ¿Qué son las rondas urbanas y qué atribuciones tienen? *El Comercio*.